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JOHN MILTON

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BOOKS I. AND II.

EDITED BY

A. W. VERITY, M.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE

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NOTE TO FIRST EDITION.

THE text of the books of *Paradise Lost* in this volume is that of the first edition, with the slight corrections of the second. In Book I. 703 and Book II. 282 I hold, as do most editors, that the readings of the second edition are not corrections but mere *errata*.

In referring to Milton's prose-works I have used the edition published in 'Bohn's Standard Library.'

Most of the Biblical, and many of the classical, allusions mentioned in the *Notes* have been pointed out by previous editors.

The brief additions to the first section of the *Appendix* are taken from Mr James' Lecture on the recently issued *Revelation of Peter*. I hope that the three new sections throw some fresh light on points of interest. In two of them I have to acknowledge the very kind assistance of Mr R. D. Hicks, of Trinity College. In the last I have tried to trace at greater detail than is attempted in any edition known to me the literary and historical allusions that centre round the famous catalogue of names in Book I. 582—587.

The sub-librarian of Trinity College, Mr W. White, helped me to detect some of the misreadings in Marvell's 'Commendatory Verses' as commonly printed. And a friend compiled the *Index* of words.

A. W. V.

BOURNEMOUTH,
Jan. 30, 1893.

NOTE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE chief change in this edition is that the *Glossary* has been recast and for the most part rewritten, the words being increased in number but treated more simply. A fresh section, "F," has been added to the *Appendix*.

A. W. V.

August 16, 1894.

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INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF MILTON.

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet; the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods; but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his Roman Catholic father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling; certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a composer whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in

the poems¹. Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated; and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School about the year 1620. Here two influences, apart from those of ordinary school-life, may have affected him particularly. The headmaster was a good English scholar; he published a grammar containing many extracts from English poets, notably Spenser; it is reasonable to assume that he had not a little to do with the encouragement and guidance of Milton's early taste for English poetry². Also, the founder of St Paul's School, Colet, had prescribed as part of the school-course the study of certain early Christian writers, whose influence is said to be directly traceable in Milton's poems and may in some cases have suggested his choice of sacred themes². While at St Paul's, Milton also had a tutor at home. Thomas Young, a Scotchman, afterwards an eminent Puritan divine—the inspirer, doubtless, of much of his pupil's Puritan sympathies. And Milton enjoyed the signal advantage of growing up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University; for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. Of his extant English poems³ only one, *On the*

¹ Milton was very fond of the organ; see *Il Penseroso*, 161, note. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction (probably from Henry Lawes) in, music. It was an age of great musical development. See "Milton's Knowledge of Music" by Mr W. H. Hadow, in *Milton Memorial Lectures* (1908).

² See the paper "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster" by Mr A. F. Leach, read before the British Academy, Dec. 10, 1908.

³ His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv. cxxxvi. scarcely come under this heading. Aubrey says in his quaint *Life of Milton*: "Anno Domini 1619 he was ten yeares old, as by his picture [the portrait by Cornelius Jansen]: and was then a poet."

Death of a Fair Infant, dates from his school-days ; but we are told that he had written much verse, English and Latin. And his early training had done that which was all-important : it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton went to Christ's College, Cambridge, in the Easter term of 1625, took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year left Cambridge. The popular view of Milton's connection with the University will be coloured for all time by Johnson's unfortunate story that for some unknown offence he "suffered the public indignity of corporal correction." For various reasons this story is now discredited by the best judges. It is certain, however, that early in 1626 Milton did have some serious difficulty with his tutor, which led to his removal from Cambridge for a few weeks and his transference to another tutor on his return later in the term. He spoke of the incident bitterly at the time in one of his Latin poems, and he spoke of Cambridge bitterly in after years. On the other hand he voluntarily passed seven years at the University, and resented strongly the imputations brought against him in the "Smectymnus" controversy that he had been in ill-favour with the authorities of his college. Writing in 1642, he takes the opportunity "to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and respect, which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years : who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay ; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me¹." And if we look into those uncomplimentary allusions to Cambridge which date from the controversial period of his life we see that the feeling they

¹ *An Apology for Smectymnus*, P. IV. III. III. Perhaps Cambridge would have been more congenial to Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a centre of Puritanism. Dr John Preston, then Master of the college, was a noted leader of the Puritan party.

represent is hardly more than a phase of his theological bias. He detested ecclesiasticism, and for him the two Universities (there is a fine impartiality in his diatribes) are the strongholds of what he detested: "nurseries of superstition"—"not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages"—given up to "monkish and miserable sophistry," and unprogressive in their educational methods. But it may fairly be assumed that Milton the scholar and poet, who chose to spend seven years at Cambridge, owed to her more than Milton the fierce controversialist admitted or knew. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University in 1632. The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written.

Milton's father had settled at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church¹. This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose; it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics. He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts; and the means whereby this end is to be attained are

¹ Cf. Milton's own words: "the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions" (*The Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 482). What kept him from taking orders was primarily his objection to Church discipline and government: he spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

devotion to religion, devotion to learning, and ascetic purity of life.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations: that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself; the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education; ranging the whole world of classical¹ antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being; pursuing, too, other interests, such as music, astronomy² and the study of Italian literature; and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and 'scholarship'³. It says much for the poet that

¹ He was closely familiar too with post-classical writers like Philo and the neo-Platonists; nor must we forget the mediæval element in his learning, due often to Rabbinical teaching.

² Science—"natural philosophy," as he terms it—is one of the branches of study advocated in his treatise *On Education*. Of his early interest in astronomy there is a reminiscence in *Paradise Lost*, II. 708—11; where "Milton is not referring to an imaginary comet, but to one which actually did appear when he was a boy of 10 (1618), in the constellation called Ophiuchus. It was of enormous size, the tail being recorded as longer even than that of 1858. It was held responsible by educated and learned men of the day for disasters. Evelyn says in his diary, 'The effects of that comet, 1618, still working in the prodigious revolutions now beginning in Europe, especially in Germany'" (Professor Ray Lankester).

³ Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading; but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the Common-place Book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied. The entries seem to have been made in the period 1637—46.

he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain; but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. Four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse; and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. It was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle; whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see

cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his position very clearly in his *Defensio Secunda*: "I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." And later: "I determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object" (i.e. the vindication of liberty). *U*

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati. *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics: the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests claimed him—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Church (*Of Reformation in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watchword of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews. This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹. The marriage proved unfortunate.

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he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning.

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There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state, gave him a practical insight into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action; in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted; controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it; and did so with *Eikonoklastes*. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained¹. Salmasius retorted, and died before his

¹ Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from twelve years of age I hardly ever left my studies or went to bed before midnight." Continual reading and writing increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision, at least for a time. The choice lay between

Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645¹ appeared the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I., *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared earlier in the same year. Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin² Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

1643, and refused to return to Milton; why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P. L.* x. 909—36, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *Samson Agonistes* must have been inspired by the same cause.

¹ i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—46, with the following title-page:

"*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappell, and one of His Majesties Private Musick.*

' ————— *Baccare frontem*

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.' VIRGIL, *Eclog.* 7. Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance. The prominence given to the name of Henry Lawes reflects Milton's friendship.

² A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, hisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

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second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued : Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute ; while the subsequent development of the controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place .

“ Not here, O Apollo,
Were haunts meet for thee.”

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660¹ the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet.

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—60. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife : fierce controversy can benefit no man . who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled : Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing . another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas* : that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second

private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. All this is brought out in his *Second Defence*. By the spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind . He was then in his forty-fourth year. Probably the disease from which he suffered was amaurosis. See the *Appendix* on *P. L.* III. 22—26. Throughout *P. L.* and *Saracen Agonistes* there are frequent references to his affliction.

¹ Milton probably began *Paradise Lost* in 1658 ; but it was not till the Restoration in 1660 that he definitely resigned all his political hopes, and became quite free to realise his poetical ambition.

greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, or *Samson Agonistes* could never have been written. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world; they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country; like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon; Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers; a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy¹." Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs²."

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by

¹ *An Apology for Smectymnus*, P. W. III. 118.

² *The Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II. 481.

breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by much impurity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes (*Sonnet CXL*):

"O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds:
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare; the sympathy and sense of the *lacrime rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects in some degree the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity; and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different. And he is so great, so majestic in the nobleness of his life, in the purity of his motives, in the self-sacrifice of his indomitable devotion to his ideals, that we could wish not even to seem to pronounce judgment at all.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—74, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early

poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator. Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. Begun about 1658, it was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage; revised from 1663 to 1665; and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision; and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets² written in the interval³.

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty-three (if we exclude the piece "On the New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638, 1639. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge* ms.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (xv. xvi. xvii. xxii.) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694 (*Sonnet* xvii. having previously appeared in a *Life* of Vane). The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which Mr Mark Pattison edited a well-known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett, *Life of Milton*, p. 175).

³ The 1673 edition also gave the juvenile piece *On the Death of a Fair Infant* and *At a Vacation Exercise*, which for some reason had been omitted from the 1645 edition.

The last four years of his life were devoted to prose works of no particular interest¹. He continued to live in London. His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his. Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise³ *Paradise Lost*. It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation.

Milton died in 1674, November 8th. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate. When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very singular purity and devotion to duty; who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius; who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*.

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* (unpublished during Milton's lifetime and dating, it is thought, mainly from the period of his theological treatises) is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *Samson Agonistes*. See *Milton Memorial Lectures* (1908), pp. 109—42. The discovery of the MS. of this treatise in 1823 gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton, which has been happily described as a Whig counterblast to Johnson's Tory depreciation of the poet.

Milton's *History of Britain*, though not published till 1670, had been written many years earlier; four of the six books, we know, were composed between 1646 and 1649.

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation; but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674). Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too."

³ See Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 17—30, and the *Notes*, pp. 72, 73.

PARADISE LOST.

(We have seen that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy: as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies; and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his “native language,” to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some “grave subject”:

“Such where the deep transported mind may soar—
 Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
 Look in, and see each blissful deity.

 Then sing of secret things that came to pass
 When beldam Nature in her cradle was.”

(But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a grave *descende cælo*, and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis* XIX. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet; secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest ‘arguments,’ challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri*

vates of inspired verse, the elect few whose poetic appeal is to the whole world. (A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze : he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ ; howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished¹.)

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length :

“How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year !
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom shew’th.
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
 That I to manhood am arrived so near ;
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely-happy spirits endu’th.
 Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven ;
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task-Master’s eye.”

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines “an inseparable part of Milton’s biography” : they bring out so clearly the poet’s solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete “inward ripeness” has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge.

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (a prelude in some respects to *Paradise Lost*) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. The *Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter ; it breaks off with the notice—“This Subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished.” Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects ; see later.

The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept. 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits.) From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions¹." But these exertions were not sufficient: the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans: "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak without blushing in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? *πτεροφυνῶ*, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air²." Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies...³."

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641). Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of Italian *savants*—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage⁴:

"In the private academies⁵ of Italy, whither I was favoured

¹ *P. W.* III. 492.

² *P. W.* III. 495.

³ *P. W.* II. 476.

⁴ *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* IV. II. 477, 478; a few lines have been quoted in the *Life* of Milton. A passage similar to the concluding sentence might be quoted from the pamphlet *Animadversions*, published the same year (1641) as the *Church Government*; see *P. W.* III. 72.

⁵ He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

to resort, perceiving that some trifles¹ which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things², which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting: (at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style.) He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*.¹ In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat.) "May I," he says, "find such a friend³ as Manso,"

¹ i.e. Latin pieces; the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylvæ*, were written before he was twenty-one.

² Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience, and they the indulgence to praise.

³ i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples; and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem. From Manso he would hear about Tasso.

"*Siquando¹ indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
 Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
 Magnanimos heroas, et (O modo spiritus adsit)
 Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*"

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis* (162—71), his account being far more detailed :

"*Ipse² ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
 Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernem;
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
 Tu procul annosa pendebis, fistula, pinu,
 Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camænis
 Brittonicum strides!*"

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then

¹ "If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below; or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry" (*Mansus*, 80—84). His Common-place Book has a quaint reference to "Arturs round table."

² "I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus' daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin's craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me; or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains." In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur's birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse; *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* iv. 689).

passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the son of mythic Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow, step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English. Just as Dante had weighed the merits of the vernacular and Latin and chosen the former, though the choice imposed on him the creation of an ideal, transfigured Italian out of the baser elements of many competing dialects, so Milton—more fortunate than Dante in that he found an instrument ready to use—will use that “native language” whose help he had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for “the honour and instruction” of his country: “I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed...to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end (that were a toilsome vanity), but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine¹; not caring to be once named

¹ *P. W.* II. 478. Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he embarked on such controversies, how much it cost him to do so, what hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission. His prose works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism.

abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world." (Here is a clear announcement of his ambition to take rank as a great national poet. The note struck is patriotism. He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

"dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹."

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity: what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned: scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now: the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance: and whoso sought to appeal to the "laureate fraternity" of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands; and when Milton determined to rely on his *patriæ Camænæ*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he might have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connection, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in *The Reason of Church Govern-*

¹ *Richard II.* II. I. 57, 58.

ment, which represent him as considering whether to attempt "that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model...or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation¹."

But 'dramatic' introduces a fresh phase; and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve; its ambitious scope; his self-preparation; the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home; his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur; his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue; his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*; and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—40. The second period extends from 1640 to 1642. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written about 1642: after 1642, up till 1658, we hear no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage about 1640, because between that year and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded: after 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject; but it may well have lain in his increasing republicanism. He could not have treated the theme from an

¹ *P. W. II.* 478, 479.

unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own age, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth; and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily¹. Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Perhaps too he was influenced by discovering, after fuller research, the mythical character of the legend. So much is rather implied by some remarks in his *History of Britain*. Milton with his intense earnestness was not the poet to build a long work on what he had found to be mainly fiction. Be this as it may, Milton rejected the subject, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem.

(Secondly, from this period, 1640—42, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form: now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from 1641.) It is manifested in the Milton MSS. at Trinity College.

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. (Among his gifts was a thin MS. volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a common-place book.) How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary

¹ See the notes on *P. L.* XII. 24, 36.

with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis ; or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS. passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not ; for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in other, unidentified handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems ; notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with many of the *Sonnets*. The volume is not a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death : it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems. Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written. They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658 : the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed : the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care : the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British :

and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former are the more numerous class: sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four. Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples:

Abram in Ægypt.

Josuah in Gibeon. Josu. 10.

Jonathan rescu'd Sam. I. 14.

Saul in Gilboa 1 Sam. 28. 31.

Gideon Idoloclastes Jud. 6. 7.

Abimelech the usurper. Jud. 9.

Samaria liberata¹ 2 Reg. 7.

Asa or Æthiopes. 2 chron. 14. with

the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol.

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament:

Christ bound

Christ crucifi'd

Christ risen.

Lazarus Joan. 11.

Christus patiens

The Scene in y^e garden beginning frō y^e comming thither till Judas betraies & y^e officers lead him away y^e rest by message & chorus. his agony may receav noble expressions

(Of British subjects² there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts." Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous. Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend,

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

² Milton's attitude towards them is illustrated indirectly by his *History of Britain*. In his paper on "Milton as an Historian" read before the British Academy recently (Nov. 25, 1908) Professor Firth says: "It was not only by his treatment of the mythical period of English history that Milton's interest in the legendary and anecdotic side of history was revealed. It appeared in the later books as well as the earlier, and the introduction of certain episodes, or the space devoted to them, might often be explained by their inclusion in the list of suggested subjects for his 'British Tragedies.'"

which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton ; secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem.)

(Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place.) Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. (For no less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost*. Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes.) In two at least his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent. The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus¹ ; it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other :

the Persons

Michael.	
Heavenly Love	
Chorus of Angels	
Lucifer	
Adam	} with the serpent
Eve	
Conscience	
Death	
Labour	} mutes
Sicknesse	
Discontent	
Ignorance	
with others	
Faith	
Hope	
Charity	

the Persons

Moses ²	
Justice ³ .	Mercie Wisdome
Heavenly Love	
Hesperus the Evening Starre	
Chorus of Angels	
Lucifer	
Adam	
Eve	
Conscience ⁴	
Labour	} mutes
Sicknesse	
Discontent	
Ignorance	
Feare	
Death	
Faith	
Hope	
Charity	

¹ Neither is introduced with any title.

² Milton first wrote "Michael," as in the other list, but substituted "Moses."

³ The epithet *Divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again. "Wisdome" was added.

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list ; then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the 'mutes' (*mutæ personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking).

These lists are crossed out ; and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows :

Paradise Lost

The Persons

Moses *προλογίζει* recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his with god in the mount declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of y^e pl¹ that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds præserve it from corruption whence horts¹ to the sight of god, tells they² cannot se Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin³

Justice }
 Mercie } debating what should become of man if he fall
 Wisdome }

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e creation⁴

Act 2.

Heavenly Love

Evening starre

chorus sing the mariage song⁵ and describe Paradise

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall⁶

Act 4.

Adam }
 Eve } fallen

Conscience cites them to Gods examination⁷

Chorus bewails and tells the good Adā hath lost

¹ The margin of the MS. is frayed here.

² *they*, i.e. the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed. Cf. the commencement of *Comus*.

³ After this the first act begins.

⁴ Cf. VII. 253—60, note.

⁵ Cf. IV. 711. ⁶ Cf. bks. V—VI.

⁷ Cf. X. 97 *et seq.*

Act 5

Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradise
presented by an angel with¹

Labour	}	mutes to whome he gives thire names likewise winter, heat Tempest ² &c
greife		
hatred		
Envie		
warre		
famine		
Pestilence		
sicknesse		
discontent		
Ignorance		
Feare	}	comfort him and istruct him
Death enterd into y ^e world		
Faith	}	
Hope		
Charity		
Chorus breifly concludes		

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS., is not deleted; but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus;

Adam unparadiz'd³

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering⁴, shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heavn, describes Paradise. next the Chorus shewing the reason of his⁵ comming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from god, & withall expressing his desire to see, & know more concerning this excellent new creature man. the angel Gabriel as by his name

¹ Cf. bks. XI—XII.

² See x. 651, note.

³ Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment*.

⁴ Cf. *Comus*, "The Attendant Spirit descends or enters" (*ad init.*).

⁵ *his*, i.e. the chorus's; he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun.

signifying a prince of power tracing¹ paradise with a more free office passes by the station of y^e chorus & desired by them relates what he knew of man as the creation of Eve with thire love, & mariage. after this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man the Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs wherat the chorus sings of the battell, & victorie in heavn against him & his accomplices, as before after the first act² was sung a hymn of the creation. heer³ again may appear Lucifer relating, & insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. man next & Eve having by this time bin seduc't by the serpent appeares confusedly cover'd with leaves conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova call'd for him in the mean while the chorus entertains⁴ the stage, & his [*sic*] inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall heer⁵ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then & Eve returne accuse one another but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence Justice appeares reason⁵ with him convinces him the³ chorus admonisheth Adam, & bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence the Angel is sent to banish them out of paradise but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evils⁶ of this life & world he is humbl'd relents, dispaire. at last appeares Mercy comforts him promises the Messiah, then calls in faith, hope, & charity, instructs him he repents gives god the glory, submitts to his penalty the chorus breifly concludes. compare this with the former draught.

"It appears plain," says Todd, "that Milton intended to have marked the division of the Acts in this sketch, as well as in the preceding. Peck has divided them; and closes the first Act with Adam and Eve's love." The other Acts may be supposed to conclude at the following points: Act 2 at "sung a hymn of the creation"; Act 3 at "inform'd...the manner of his fall"; Act 4 at "bids him beware...inpenitence"; Act 5 at "the chorus breifly concludes."

(It is in regard to the first Act that this fourth draft, which

¹ passing through; cf. *Comus*, 423.

² i.e. in the third draft.

³ Each of these sentences was an after-thought, added below or in the margin.

⁴ occupies.

⁵ i.e. reasons; or 'to reason.'

⁶ See XI. 477—93, note.

Milton bids us "compare with the former," marks a distinct advance. Milton made Moses the speaker of the prologue in the third draft because so much of the subject-matter of *Paradise Lost* is drawn from the Mosaic books of the Old Testament.) But the appearance of a descendant of Adam, even in a prologue, where much latitude is allowed by convention, seems an awkward prelude to scenes coincident with Adam's own creation. It is far more natural that, before the subject of man's fall is touched upon at all, we should be told who man is, and that this first mention of him should come from the supernatural beings who had, or might have, witnessed the actual creation of the universe and its inhabitants. The explanation, too, why Moses is able to assume his natural body is very forced. And altogether this fourth draft exhibits more of drama, less of spectacle, than its predecessor.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear: as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakeable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS. coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book iv. (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other* Tragedies," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag." (i.e. tragedies).

(Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of ~~any~~ of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated.) Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended¹. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadis'd* would have borne a very marked resemblance to *Samson Agonistes*: it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy²: else he would scarce have written *Il Penseroso*, 101, 102. Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare remained unmodified³: certainly, the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries⁴, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the "dramatic constitutions" of Sophocles and Euripides: and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise*

¹ These are the two entries in the MS.: "Theristria. a Pastoral out of Ruth"; and—"the sheepshearers in Carmel a Pastoral. 1 Sam. 25." There is but one glance at the epical style; in the list of "British Trag." after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reigne. especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes. whose actions are wel like those of Ulysses."

² See *Appendix to Samson Agonistes*.

³ See note on *L'Allegro*, 133, 134.

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of "our common rhymers and play-writers" as "despicable creatures," *P. W.* III. 474.

Lost we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the 'unities' of place and time.) The scene does not change; it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audience (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here: the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene: it is described—partly by Lucifer, "relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man"; partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. (The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. In *Adam unparadis'd* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*: that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs¹ of Milton's

¹ Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled "Abram from Morea, or Isack redeemed—Baptistes" (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod)—and "Sodom Burning." In each two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In "Isack redeemed" the

classical' bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS.; and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite Greek poets. But the scheme soon had to be abandoned; and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed in *Samson Agonistes*¹. With Milton as with Dante the greatest came last—after long delay: the life's work of each marked the life's close: and, the work done, release soon came to each, though to Dante sooner².

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton began the poem as we know it. By then he had gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness³, the epic was finished about 1663. The history of

incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle's definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a title such as the Greek tragedians employed—e.g. "Elias Polemistēs," "Elisæus Hydrochóos," "Zedechiah νεοτερίων."

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel.

² "There is at once similarity and difference in the causes which made each postpone the execution of his undertaking till a comparatively late period in his life; and a curious parallel may be observed in the length of time between the first conception and the completion of their monumental works, as well as in the period that elapsed between the end of their labours and their death." (Courthope.)

³ According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis; afterwards Phillips would go over the MS., correcting errors, under his uncle's direction. The original transcript submitted to the Licensor is extant, and is one of the many literary treasures that have gone to

each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection¹. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663; while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiography*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. (When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*." Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666; but again there was delay—this time through the great Fire of London which disorganised business. Not till 1667 did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The agreement (now in the possession of the British Museum) drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

America. It "passed from the possession of the first printer of the poem, Samuel Simmons, to Jacob Tonson [the publisher], and thence to his collateral descendants, remaining in the same family...until 1904," when it was bought by an American collector. (From an article in *The Athenæum* on "*Miltoniana* in America.")

¹ "When we look at his earlier manuscripts, with all their erasures and corrections, we may well wonder what the *Paradise Lost* would have been if he had been able to give it the final touches of a faultless and fastidious hand. When we think of it composed in darkness, preserved in memory, dictated in fragments, it may well seem to us the most astonishing of all the products of high genius guided by unconquerable will" (J. W. Mackail).

The system of licensing publications, against which Milton had protested so vehemently in his *Areopagitica*, had been revived by the Press Act of 1662 and was now strongly enforced. "By that act," says Dr Masson, "the duty of licensing books of general literature had been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London; but it was exceptional for any of those dignitaries to perform the duty in person. It was chiefly performed for them by a staff of under-licencers, paid by fees." Five or six of his chaplains acted so for the Archbishop; and according to tradition one of them, to whom *Paradise Lost* was submitted, hesitated to give his *imprimatur* on account of the lines in the first book about eclipses perplexing monarchs with fear of change (I. 594—99). Milton must have remembered grimly the bitter gibes in his pamphlets, e.g. in the *Animadversions* (1641) against "monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes," and "proud Imprimaturs not to be obtained without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow-souled, and illiterate chaplain." The wheel had come full circle with a vengeance.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter here; but we must note three things. The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten. In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*; these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title-pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title-page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed: and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667; four, 1668; and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full; two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Sotheby collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp. 81—84.

this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse; and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500; and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic (said to be 670 lines longer than the *Æneid*) was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the subdivision of books VII. and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to their respective books. Thirdly, a few changes were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. It was to the second edition that the commendatory verses by Samuel Barrow and Andrew Marvell were prefixed. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson; *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the 18th century editions¹ were numerous. "Milton scholarship²," it has been justly said, "was active throughout the whole period."

There is, indeed, little (if any) ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contem-

¹ Pre-eminent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

² See Professor Dowden's Tercentenary paper "Milton in the Eighteenth Century (1701—1750)."

poraries, and without honour in his lifetime. (To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*; but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not forget his long identification with republicanism; and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet¹. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton: they felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet; and it is pleasant to read how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him. And their visits were the prelude of that foreign renown and influence from which he seemed to have cut himself off when he made his native tongue the medium of his great work. "Milton was the first English poet to inspire respect and win fame for our literature on the Continent, and to his poetry was due, to an extent that has not yet been fully recognised, the change which came over European ideas in the eighteenth century with regard to the nature and scope of the epic." *Paradise Lost* was the mainstay of those

¹ Cf. Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 45—54.

critics who dared to vindicate, in the face of French classicism, the rights of the imagination over the reason in poetry¹."

There has been much discussion about the 'sources' of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa's autumn leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having 'inspired' (as the phrase is) the great epic. Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton; but some of them do seem to stand in a relation which demands recognition.

I should place first the Latin tragedy *Adamus Exul* (1601), written in his youth by the great jurist Hugo Grotius after the model of Seneca. Apart from the question of actual resemblances to *Paradise Lost*, it might fairly be conjectured, if not assumed, that Milton read this tragedy. He knew Grotius personally and knew his works. Describing, in the *Second Defence*, his Italian tour in 1638, Milton mentions his stay in Paris and friendly reception by the English ambassador, and adds: "His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French court; whose acquaintance I anxiously desired²." He quotes the opinions of Grotius with high respect in his treatise on divorce³. The alternative titles of the fourth draft of Milton's own contemplated tragedy, viz. *Adam unparadis'd* and *Adams Banishment*, certainly recall the title *Adamus Exul*; and it may be

¹ Professor J. G. Robertson, "Milton's Fame on the Continent," a paper read before the British Academy, Dec. 10, 1908.

Perhaps the strangest and most delightful evidence of Milton's acceptance among foreigners was Mr Maurice Baring's discovery of the popularity of *Paradise Lost*, in a prose translation, amongst the Russian peasantry and private soldiers:

"The schoolmaster said that after all his experience the taste of the peasants in literature baffled him. 'They will not read modern stories,' he said. 'When I ask them why they like *Paradise Lost* they point to their heart and say, "It is near to the heart; it speaks; you read, and a sweetness comes to you."'"

² *P. W.* I. 255.

³ See chapters XVII., XVIII. of *The Doctrine and Discipline*.

noted that this draft was sketched in that period (about 1641) of Milton's life to which his meeting with Grotius belongs. Of the likeness between *Paradise Lost* and the *Adamus Exul*, and other works dealing with the same theme, it is impossible to say how much, if not all, is due to identity of subject and (what is no less important) identity of convention as to the machinery proper for its treatment. But I do not think that community of subject accounts entirely for the resemblances between *Paradise Lost* and Grotius's tragedy. The conception of Satan's character and motives unfolded in his long introductory speech in the *Adamus*, the general idea of his escaping from Hell and surveying Eden, his invocation of the powers of evil (amongst them Chaos and Night)—these things and some others, such as the *Angel's narrative to Adam of the Creation*, seem like far-off embryonic dawns of the splendours of the epic. It should be added that Grotius's other religious plays were known in England. A free rendering of his *Christus Patiens* into rhymed heroics was published in London in 1640 under the title *Christ's Passion*; while his tragedy *Sophompaneas, or Joseph*, appeared in an English version in 1650. And a sidelight may be thrown not merely on the contemporary estimate of Grotius by the exceptionally eulogistic mention of his works in the *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) of Milton's nephew Edward Phillips. The *Theatrum* is commonly supposed to reflect in some degree Milton's own views¹ and it is significant therefore to find Grotius described as one "whose equal in fame for Wit & Learning, Christendom of late Ages hath rarely produc'd, particularly of so happy a Genius in Poetry, that had his Annals,

¹ See v. 177, 673, notes. Other touches in the *Theatrum* of Miltonic interest are the accounts of Spenser and Sylvester, and the praise of Henry Lawes in the notice of Waller. One may conjecture, too, that the obscure Erycus Puteanus would not have had his niche but for *Comus*. The *Theatrum* includes also Andreini—but not Vondel. Phillips's account of Milton himself is admirably discreet: and he expressly terms *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* "Heroic Poems." The relations between uncle and nephew were more than ordinarily close.

his Book *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis*...and other his extolled works in Prose, never come to Light, his extant and universally approved Latin Poems, had been sufficient to gain him a Living Name."

It is an easy transition from the *Adamus Exul* to the *Adamo* of the Italian poet Giovanni Battista Andreini (1578—1652), a Florentine, which is said to owe something to Grotius's tragedy. Voltaire, in his *Essai sur la Poésie Epique* written in 1727, related that Milton during his residence at Florence saw "a comedy called *Adamo*¹.....The subject of the play was the Fall of Man: the actors, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven Mortal Sins.....Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject; which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem." What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say. It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers. It may have been a mere invention by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism. But the authenticity of the story is not perhaps very important, for independently there seems to be evidence in the *Adamo* itself that Milton was acquainted with it even before his visit to Italy. One cannot read the scene of the *Adamo* (v. 5) in which the World, personified, tempts Eve with all its pomps and vanities, without being reminded of the scene in *Comus* of the temptation of the Lady. And, as with the *Adamus Exul*, some of the coincidences of incident and treatment between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost*, or Milton's early dramatic sketches of the action, seem to constitute a residuum of resemblance after full allowance has

¹ It had been printed in 1613 (Milan), and again in 1617. The title-page of the first edition describes the work as "L'Adamo, Sacra Rapresentatione." It is more "a hybrid between a miracle play and an opera" (Courthope) than a "comedy." A translation by Cowper and Hayley was printed in their edition of Milton; and it is in this translation that the work is known to me. The fact that Cowper took the *Adamo* theory seriously is significant.

been made for the influence of practical identity of theme. Thus the list of characters in the *Adamo* has abstractions like the World, Famine, Labour, Despair, Death: and the appearance of these and kindred evils of life to Adam and Eve (Act IV., scenes 6 and 7) recalls the early drafts of the scheme of *Paradise Lost* and also the vision shown to Adam in the eleventh (477—99) book of the poem. Andreini makes Michael drive Adam and Eve out of Paradise and depicts a final struggle between Michael and Lucifer. Andreini's representation of the Serpent's temptation of Eve has been thought to have left some impression on the parallel scene in *Paradise Lost*. After the Fall Lucifer summons the spirits of air and fire, earth and water—a counterpart to *Paradise Regained*, II. 115 *et seq.* And occasionally a verbal similarity arrests—as where Lucifer says (IV. 2, end):

“Let us remain in hell!

Since there is more content

To live in liberty, tho' all condemn'd,

Than, as his vassals, blest¹”

(“*Poi, ch' è maggior contento*

viver in libertà tutti dannati,

che sudditi beati”);

and inveighs (IV. 2):

“*Ahi luce, ahi luce odiata!*”

or where the Angels describe Man (II. 1):

“For contemplation of his Maker form'd”

(“*Per contemplar del suo gran Fabro il merto*”).

¹ See I. 263, note; but of course the idea was not peculiar to any writer. So tradition, literary or theological, may explain the following similarity, which is at least an interesting illustration of *P. L.* v. 688, 699. Andreini makes Lucifer (I. 3) address his followers:

“I am that Spirit, I, who for your sake

Collecting dauntless courage, to the north

Led you far distant from the senseless will

Of him who boasts to have created heav'n.”

The reference occurs again in the *Adamo*, III. 8.

Tradition also may account for another feature common to the *Adamo*, the *Adamus* and *Paradise Lost*, viz. the long description of the convulsions and deterioration in the physical universe after the Fall of Man.

Leaving the matter for a moment we will pass to the third claimant, the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel. He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works. Among them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects. With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven; *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems.

That Milton had heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation; beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands. Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself; if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator; and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian theory should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his repute; and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive: it includes Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French:

and it does *not* include Dutch. I think that this fact tells heavily against the hypothesis of Milton's indebtedness to Vondel. Still, it must be admitted that critics of eminence accept it.

There remains the so-called Cædmon *Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts¹ of the Old Testament. This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been; but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon². The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Ussher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton³; if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated⁴ parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture,

¹ Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

² See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*.

³ This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner; see also Masson, *Life*, vi. 557.

⁴ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, iv. pp. 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

since there is no actual record or external evidence of Milton's acquaintance with the *Paraphrase* or its translator.

These then are the four possible 'sources' of *Paradise Lost* seemingly most deserving of mention ; and of them the *Adamus Exul* and the *Adamo* strike me as unquestionably the most important, for various reasons. Milton's acquaintance with them may be referred to the early period when the influence on him of other writers would be greatest. ¹ The *Adamus* and the *Adamo* both present some points of resemblance to the early drafts of *Paradise Lost*. With the *Adamus* there is the special consideration of Milton's personal knowledge and admiration of its author. With the *Adamo*, apart from the possibility that Voltaire's story had some basis, there is the consideration of Milton's special devotion to Italian literature. With neither is there, at least not in the same degree as in the case of Vondel's works and the Cædmon *Paraphrase*, the difficulty involved by the poet's blindness. That he knew the *Adamus*¹ and the *Adamo* appears to me, now, hardly an open question. In these and similar works disinterred by the industry of Milton's editors lay the general conception, the theological machinery, the cosmic and supra-cosmic scene of a poem on the Fall of Man. So much is simply a matter of history ; and to claim for Milton or any other writer who chose this theme the merit of absolute originality is simply to ignore history. The composition of religious poetry was the great literary activity of the earlier part of the 17th century, and Milton did on the grand scale what others did on the lower. The work of these lesser writers could not be without its influence on him, since no poet can detach himself from the conditions of his age or the associations of a subject that has become common property and passed into a convention. But that the qualities which have made *Paradise Lost* immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius

¹ As regards the *Adamus Exul* William Lauder had *some* case, but spoilt it by his forgeries ; for a sample of his libellous malevolence see i. 261—63, note. Todd (ii. 585—89) has an Appendix on "Lauder's Interpolations."

than that of Milton himself: this is a fond delusion, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out.)

We must indeed recognise in *Paradise Lost*, the meeting-point of Renaissance and Reformation, the impress of four great influences: the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature. Of the Bible Milton possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it: the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*; and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue. Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought and said. That he was deeply versed in Italian poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved; and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante¹, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence. In English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading. Without doubt, he was

¹ See Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*, I. 2, 120, 486, II. 587. Among the points noted are these: Dante resemblances occur in Milton's early poems before his visit to Italy; in his *Commonplace Book* Milton illustrates his views several times by references to Dante; his rendering of three lines of the *Inferno* in his treatise *Of Reformation* (see *P. L.* III. 444—97, note) is the first instance of the use of blank verse as a medium for the translation of Dante and may have suggested the use of that metre to Cary; Milton was one of the first English poets to use Dante's *terza rima*—see his translation of *Psalms* ii., headed "Done August 8, 1653. Terzetti." Dr Toynbee also states that Milton's copy (the 3rd ed., Venice, 1529) of the *Convivio* is extant. "Milton has written his name in the book and the date, 1629. The volume belonged to Heber [the book-collector, half-brother of the bishop], and was sold at his sale in 1834." It contained also the *Sonnets* (1563) of the Italian poet Casa and the marginal markings, if made by Milton, show that he had "read the Sonnets with great attention."

most affected by "our admired Spenser¹." He was, says Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original." And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance. Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*; and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island*. The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems², and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost*. Finally, we must not forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and diversified the profession of merchant with the making of much rhyme) translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas³. The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser⁴. There is no doubt

¹ *Animadversions*, P. W. III. 84. On Milton's feeling for Spenser see the note to *Il Penseroso*, I 16—20.

² See the *Introductions* to *Comus* and *Lycidas*. Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists* might also be mentioned (see II. 650, 746, notes). Besides the Fletchers, there was Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist." Milton must have known him at Christ's College.

³ Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*; and rhymed on his own account. The first collected edition of his translation of the *Divine Weeks* was published in 1605—1606, instalments having appeared between 1592 and 1599. Dr Grosart collected Sylvester's works into two bulky volumes.

⁴ Spenser himself admired Du Bartas greatly; see the *Envoy* addressed to the French poet Bellay at the end of *The Ruines of Rome*.

In a paper read before the British Academy on some MS. notes, "dealing mainly with the place of astronomy in poetry," by Spenser's Cambridge friend Gabriel Harvey, Professor Gollancz gave the following extract referring to Du Bartas and Spenser:

"Mr Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palingenius by heart,

that Milton studied *The Divine Weeks* in his youth. "That Poem hath ever had many great admirers among us" is the suggestive comment of his nephew Edward Phillips. It is certainly one of the works¹ whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not 'plagiarise'; and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil; nor the construction, though this is sufficiently architectonic; nor the learning, though this is vast; nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope: not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music.

and takes much delight to repeat it often. Mr Spenser conceives the like pleasure in the fourth day of the first Week of Bartas which he esteems as the proper profession of Urania."

¹ See some remarks and illustrations in Professor Mackail's *The Springs of Helicon* (1909), pp. 195, 196.

THE STORY OF THE POEM.

A sketch of the action of the whole poem, following the sequence of the twelve books, may be useful to those who are acquainted only with parts of *Paradise Lost* :—

I. The scene Hell—the time nine days after the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Heaven. They lie on the burning lake, stupefied. Satan first recovers, rouses Beëlzebub, discusses with him their position, and then makes his way from the lake to a “dreary plain” of dry land. Beëlzebub follows ; Satan calls to his comrades to do likewise. Rising on the wing they reach the same firm land. Their numbers and names described. They range themselves in battle-array before Satan, who addresses them. They may still (he says) regain Heaven ; or there may be other worlds to win—in particular, a new world, inhabited by new-created beings, of which report had spoken : let these matters be duly conferred of. Straightway, a vast palace—Pandemonium—is made, to serve as council-chamber. Here a council is held ; only the great Angels are present.

II. The scene—at first—Pandemonium ; the debate begins. Satan invites their counsel—“who can advise may speak.” Moloch, Belial and Mammon speak—their several counsels : last Beëlzebub, who reverts to Satan’s hint of the new world. Why not ruin it ? or make it their own ? or win its inhabitants to their side ? What better revenge against the Almighty ? The plan approved—but who will discover this world ? None volunteer : and then Satan offers to undertake the journey. His offer accepted ; the council leaving Pandemonium breaks up ; the result announced to the rest of the Angels. How they pass the time till his return—some exploring Hell (now more closely described). Meanwhile he reaches Hell-gates, is suffered to pass by Sin and Death, voyages through Chaos (described), and at last comes within sight of the Universe hung in space (i.e. Chaos). We leave him directing his course towards the World.

III. The scene—at first—Heaven. The Almighty perceives Satan, points him out to the Son, tells what his design is, and its destined success; tells also that Man will be saved ultimately—if he can find a Redeemer. “The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man”; is accepted by the Father, and praised by the Angelic host. Meanwhile—the scene changing—Satan, having reached the outer surface (described) of the Universe, wanders through various regions (described), until, coming to the single opening in the surface, he descends into the inside of the Universe. He arrives at the sphere of the Sun; disguising himself as a young Angel from Heaven, enquires from Uriel, the Sun-spirit, the way to Earth—pretending “desire to behold the new Creation”; is directed by Uriel, descends again, and alights on Mt Niphates.

IV. There, pausing awhile, he gives way to regret that he has rebelled, and rage at his outcast state; passion distorts his face, so that Uriel, watching, now knows him for an evil spirit. Thence, recovering self-control, Satan journeys on towards Eden, the main scene (described); sees Adam and Eve (famous description of them); overhears what they say concerning the Tree of Knowledge, and perceives at once the means whereby to compass their fall. At nightfall he essays to tempt Eve in a dream; is discovered by Gabriel, who, warned by Uriel, has descended to Eden to defend Man. A battle between Satan and Gabriel imminent, but averted. Satan flies.

V. The scene still Eden. A further picture of Adam and Eve—their worship and work. Raphael (the scene having changed for a brief space to Heaven) comes to warn them of their danger, at the bidding of the Almighty—so that Man, if he falls, may fall knowingly, by his own fault. Raphael received and entertained; admonishes Adam; explains who his enemy is, and why: which leads to an account of the rebellion in Heaven—its beginning described.

VI. The scene of the events narrated by Raphael Heaven. He describes the three days’ war in Heaven, at the end of which Satan and his followers were cast into Hell. The warning to Adam repeated.

VII. The scene Eden. Raphael describes the Creation of the World, which is accomplished by the Son of God.

VIII. The scene the same. Adam enquires concerning the stars and Heavenly bodies; Raphael answers doubtfully. Adam recounts his own first experience of Eden—how the Almighty forbade him to touch the Tree of Knowledge, under pain of what penalty; how he first saw Eve. The day declines, and Raphael departs—once more warning Adam.

IX. The scene the same. “Adam and Eve...go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart.” Adam dissuades; she persisting, he yields. So Satan (in the form of a serpent) finds her alone and tempts her. She eats of the fruit and induces Adam to do so. Their sense of sin and shame.

X. The Son of God descends to Eden, and pronounces doom on Adam and Eve and the Serpent. Meanwhile Satan, returning to Pandemonium, announces the result of his journey, and lo! on a sudden he and his followers are changed to reptiles. Sin and Death now ascend from Hell to Eden, to claim the World as theirs; but the Almighty foretells their ultimate overthrow by the Son, and commands the Angels to make changes in the elements and stars, whereby the Earth becomes less fair. The repentance of Adam and Eve, who seek comfort in supplication of the Deity. The scene has changed often.

XI. The Son interceding, the Father sends Michael to Eden (henceforth the scene) to reveal the future to Adam—above all, his hope of redemption. After announcing to Adam his approaching banishment from Eden, Michael takes him to a high mountain and unrolls before him a vision of the World’s history till the Flood.

XII. Then he traces the history of Israel after the Flood, till the coming of Christ, with the subsequent progress of Christianity: ending with renewed promise of redemption. The fiery Cherubim now descend. Michael leads Adam and Eve to the gates of Eden; and they go forth, sad yet consoled with the hope of salvation at the last.

MILTON'S PREFACE ON "THE VERSE" OF
PARADISE LOST.

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them...and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe." "*Barbarous*" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse. *Puttenham* is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying." Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that, as a metrical principle, it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say. He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here; and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight." Moreover, though he appeals to the example of some European poets "of prime note" in support of his view, yet he must have foreseen the obvious and just retort that the weight of "custom" was against him, and that, in particular, the Italian exponents of *versi sciolti* whom he could cite on his side made a poor showing beside those great masters of rhyme—*Dante, Ariosto, Tasso*¹—to whom he himself owed so much. His contemptuous dismissal of what "in every country of modern Europe had been adopted as the basis of metrical composition²" was a characteristic touch of his resentment of criticism and defiance of authority.

¹ See, however, p. 73.

² Courthope.

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist; and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example: to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question; and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a “sage and serious” poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and “other common interludes”), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former. There is force too in the suggestion that the association of rhyme with the amatory Caroline poets (*Lycidas*, 67–69) would not make Milton more favourable to it.

Curiously enough, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* both contain a good deal of rhyme. We may compare it with the rare rhymed verse, accidental or designed (“leonine”), in the Latin poets. Cowper noted some instances in his fragment of a commentary on *Paradise Lost*. “Rhyme,” he said, “is apt to come uncalled, and to writers of blank verse is often extremely troublesome¹.” Indeed complete absence of rhyme argues some artificiality. To quote Mr Robert Bridges: “Rhyme occurs in *Paradise*

¹ “The blank verse Italians have often done this [i.e. rhymed]: in fact, it is excessively difficult to prevent in Italian” (Saintsbury).

Lost (see I. 146, 8, 51; II. 220, 1; IV. 24—27), but only as a natural richness among the varieties of speech ; and it would seem that it cannot be forbidden in a long poem but by the scrupulosity which betrays art." Possibly, however, the amount of rhyme in the two epics exceeds what Milton would have desired. It illustrates, I think, the terrible difficulty of revision imposed by his blindness. Yet such is the spell of the rhythm of his verse¹ that one may be unconscious of the rhyme till its presence is pointed out. Of consecutive rhymed lines, some being actual rhymed couplets, the following passages are examples: *Paradise Lost*, II. 220, 221; IV. 956, 957; VI. 709, 710; IX. 105, 106, 477, 478; XI. 230, 231, 597, 598, 671, 672; *Paradise Regained*, III. 214, 215; IV. 591, 592. In II. 893, 894, a slight difference of pronunciation, indicated by Milton's spelling, may account for what appears to the eye as a couplet. In v. 167, 168, 274, 275, IX. 191, 192, the assonance has the effect of rhyme. Of course, the most frequent rhyme is that which comes with an interval of one or two intervening lines, as in two out of the three passages remarked by Mr Bridges. Other examples¹ are: *Paradise Lost*, I. 274, 276, 711, 713, 764, 767; II. 390, 393, 942, 944; III. 140, 142, 168, 170; IV. 222, 224, 288, 290, 678, 680; V. 160, 162, 383, 385, 857, 859; VI. 14, 16, 161, 163, 174, 176; VIII. 1, 3, 171, 173, 229, 231; IX. 590, 591, 606, 608; XI. 201, 204, 206, 637, 639, 740, 741; XII. 353, 355, 366, 368; *Paradise Regained*, II. 206, 208, 245, 247, 250; IV. 25, 27, 145, 147, 222, 224. As remarked before, I cannot¹ help thinking that a portion of this rhyme represents Milton's inability to focus the full measure of his fastidious taste² on the revision of his work.

Superfluous as it may seem to us that he should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the "stumblings" of the unlettered which led him to write this

¹ The list is illustrative, not exhaustive.

² It would have resented surely the substitution of *Chersonese* in most modern texts for the *Chersoness* of the original editions in *Paradise Regained*, IV. 74. See the termination of the previous line.

preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed in single lines or couplets; or diffuse and formless through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages, exemplified by works like *Gorboduc*, the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

These combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concent and rhythm¹—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests and allitera-

¹ Cf. Professor Mackail's fine metaphor for it—"the planetary wheeling of the long period"—"that continuous planetary movement" (Lecture II. on Milton in *The Springs of Helicon*, pp. 156, 196).

tive balance with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous; and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse. And restoration of form was precisely what the metre needed. With the later Jacobean and Caroline dramatists metrical freedom had turned to “licence and slipshodness...then comes Milton,...takes non-dramatic blank verse in hand once for all, and introduces into it the order, proportion, and finish which dramatic blank verse had then lost¹.” Milton in fact was the re-creator of blank verse, “the first to establish this peculiarly English form of metre in non-dramatic poetry¹.” Nor was he unconscious of the character of his achievement. Here, in the last lines of his preface, he congratulates himself upon “an example set”; and many years before, in the grand passage apostrophising the Divine Goodness at the end of the treatise *Of Reformation*, he had written, with obvious reference to the great design that ruled his whole life: “Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measure to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages².” It were hard to frame an apter summary of the metre of *Paradise Lost* than “new and lofty.”

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical *cæsura*. Dr Masson notes that Milton’s favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens:

“I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness

¹ Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, II. pp. 208, 224.

² *P. W.* II. 418.

And immortality; | that fondly lost,
 This other served but to eternize woe,
 Till I provided death: | so death becomes
 His final remedy" | (XI. 57—62).

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot; cf.

"ere fallen
 From innocence" | (XI. 29, 30).

"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one" (XI. 44).

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two other remarks made by Milton. One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables." By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its natural accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to "span words with just note and accent¹," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unfaltering appropriateness of accent. But another interpretation of his words is possible, namely that by "fit quantity of syllables" he meant "that blank verse might be extended beyond the usual number of ten syllables when its sense and feeling so required²." Taken in this way, "quantity" would have reference to the trisyllabic element in his verse by which the number of syllables in a line is increased, and perhaps more obviously to the hypermetrical element.

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. Shakespeare, of course, uses

¹ *Sonnet* to Henry Lawes.

² Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, III. 428. Personally I think that in a specifically metrical context "quantity" conveys the notion "long" or "short," i.e. with or without accent (stress).

them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them. There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse—e.g. lines (i) where the supernumerary syllable comes at the close; (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot; (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, “Like one | that means | his proper harm, | in manacles” (*Coriolanus*, I. 9. 57); and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, I. I. 230, “Our musty superfluity |. See our | best elders.” In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties: in *Paradise Lost* of only two¹—(i) and (iii). This paucity is an illustration of what must be recognised as the great metrical feature of the epic—that its metre is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton’s “inevitable,” almost infallible, art that he should vary his style so precisely to fit the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration. Such variation illustrates “a quality for which he seldom or never gets the full credit due to him, a dramatic sense of extreme delicacy. With him, as with Sophocles, this quality is so fine that it may easily elude observation².”

Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in “apt numbers.” Here Milton referred to that adaptation of expression to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. This adaptation is shown in its simplest form by the

¹ In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*; cf. *P. R.* I. 302, “Such solitude before choicest *society*.” So in *P. L.* VIII. 216. Of course in these cases an “Alexandrine” solves the difficulty.

² *The Springs of Helicon*, p. 175 (see also p. 178).

suggestion of specific effects such as movement or sound¹. But it dominates the whole relation of the manner to the matter. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest², "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art; he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt."

We have seen that Milton may have had in view the scansion of his verse when he referred to the "fit quantity of syllables." That scansion has as its basic principle the "pure iambic"—*carmen iambicum*—so much canvassed by Elizabethan metricists. This stately, self-contained line of five feet in rising rhythm—"O Prince, O chief of many throned powers—" lies at the centre of the prosody of *Paradise Lost*. So much is patent; nor are the main means by which it is varied obscure. By letting the lines run on so that the rhythm of the unit of five feet passes into the richer harmony of groups of units Milton gives us the "verse-paragraph." And by substituting each of the possible variations of the disyllabic foot—namely, the trochee (or inversion of rhythm), the spondee and the pyrrhic—he tempers the monotony of a single-foot measure to "stops of various quills." But these foot-modifications had become part of the machinery of blank

¹ Cf. e.g. I. 742—46, 768, II. 947—50, 1021, 1022, VII. 495 (note), x. 521—28 (note). So in II. 641 we get the sense of vast space; in II. 879—83 of combined movement and jarring noise; in II. 890—906 of confusion; in IV. 181 (note) of scornful laughter; in VII. 480 of length. A very elaborate example (admirably analysed in Mayor's *Modern English Metre*, pp. 99—106) is the description of the march of the fallen angels in I. 549—62.

² *English Rhythms*, p. 530.

verse as developed since the pioneer days. There is nothing specifically Miltonic about the use of them in *Paradise Lost*, except possibly as regards the spondee. Cowper was inclined to think that "the grand secret to which his [Milton's] verse is principally indebted for its stately movement" is the frequent employment of spondaic feet: "the more long syllables there are in a verse, the more the line of it is protracted, and consequently the pace, with which it moves, is the more majestic." That Milton's use of the trochee (or rare double trochee) was due to the partiality of the Italians for this foot seems a needless assumption, the trochee having been firmly established by Marlowe. And "pyrrhic" is merely a rather pedantic-sounding term for a quite ordinary feature of blank verse—namely, the occurrence of a foot with a weak stress. Dr Abbott estimates that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton; but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not indispensable—rather that for variety's sake it is necessary that one or more should occasionally be remitted. Taken as a whole, the obviously disyllabic element of Milton's poetry does not present much difficulty: the crux lies in the less obviously trisyllabic strata.

This is a subject on which irreconcilable opinions are held; the Miltonic blank verse described by Dr Masson is simply a different thing from the Miltonic blank verse described by Mr Bridges; and the essential truth seems to me to lie very much nearer to the views of the latter critic. I think that Milton himself would have been astonished at the elaborate trisyllabic apparatus—bacchics and amphibrachs and cretics rare—with which the verse of *Paradise Lost* has been credited. The base-principle of the slow-moving, majestic iambic decasyllable is lost in the mazes of so complex a system. On the other hand, to attempt to ban the trisyllabic foot altogether from his metre involves impossible twistings and distortions. We shall not be far astray if we steer a middle course and admit the anapæst

("the foot-of-all-work of English prosody") and (to a much less important share) the dactyl and the tribrach¹. These may be taken to represent collectively "the trisyllabic foot, which was inherent in the nature of the [English] language, and had been recognised by long poetical usage²." It reproduces "the swift triple rhythm²" of Old English poetry, while the iambic element corresponds with the typical movement of the Greek senarius. And in the verse of *Paradise Lost* it is the iambic movement that prevails, especially perhaps in the first six books, which are cast more in the typically grand Miltonic manner than the second half of the poem, where the less impressive and less coherent interest of the subject is reflected in the style. But the measure of this iambic predominance depends on the degree to which the principle of elision of vowels applies.

"Elision" comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those more numerous cases where the metre indicates, or seems to indicate, that a vowel has *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Such elision resolves itself practically into cases of the open vowel and the vowel (or double vowel) followed by a liquid. Elision of the former type belongs to poetic usage, of the latter to the currency of everyday speech; and each is permissive, not obligatory. Moreover, elision is a matter of scansion, not necessarily of pronunciation and reading. It is, I think, perfectly true to say that "Milton came to scan his verses one way, and read them another." But is it not true of all poetic elision? Who

¹ See Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody*, I. 403, II. 259, 260.

² Courthope. Compare also Mayor (*Modern English Metre*, p. 15): "Anapaestic rhythm was familiar to the Elizabethan poets, not merely from its use by older writers, such as the author of *Piers Ploughman*, but from the later 'tumbling verse' as used by Skelton and Udall." And again (p. 44): "Trisyllabic rhythm is a marked feature of the Old English alliterative verse, and of the 'tumbling measure' which followed it."

knows what precisely happened to the elided vowels of Greek and Latin verse? Metrically their suppression may have been absolute, as it is (I am told) in Greek MSS.: but in actual declamation? Similarly, though I cannot doubt that Milton scanned "th' Aonian mount" and "th' oblivious pool," yet I should not like to say that he read the words so. Nor should I like to have to determine whether in scansion he extended this principle of the elision of the open vowel beyond monosyllables like *the* and *to* and the terminal *y* which slides so easily into a vowel at the beginning of the next word. Thus it satisfies my "gross unpurged ear" to scan "Who highly thus t' entitle me vouchsaf'st" (X. 170); but to wrest an iambus out of the second foot of the line "Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw and pined" (IV. 848) by eliding the double vowel *ue* ("Virtue in | her shape") seems a needless violence, when the easy access of the anapæst ("Virtue | in her shape") solves all. And so with many another line.

Some light is thrown on this difficult question of Milton's elisions by the Cambridge autographs of his earlier poems. The evidence, indeed, is not conclusive because the MSS. are not consistent in giving always an elided form where the metre requires one as an alternative to a trisyllabic scansion. But one cannot help drawing some inference from elisions like "Temper'd to th' oaten flute," and elided forms such as *watrie—westring—batning—wandring—toured*, and the many contractions of the inflections of verbs, such as *honour'st—tun'st—forc't—nur'st—stoopt—stolne—dan'ct*¹. With some of these examples before us, it is not hard to conjecture how Milton would have scanned, say, *Paradise Lost*, XI. 779, "Wandering that watery desert; I had hope." Similarly when we come across lines of the epic in which *Heaven* appears to be equivalent to a monosyllable, it is apposite to remember that his autograph has *heavn* in the prose draft of *Adam unparadiz'd* (line 2).

¹ Cf. *Lycidas*, 4, 12, 23, 29, 31, 33; *Arcades*, 21; *Comus*, 39; *Sonnets* II. and XIII.

And *faʎn* in the prose draft of *Isaac redeemed* serves as a metrical gloss on 1. 84, "If thou beest he—but Oh how fallen! how changed!" The drift of such elisions and contractions is obviously to diminish the trisyllabic element, and maintain that iambic rhythm which was ever present¹ to Milton's ear and ever wafting the proud full sail of his verse.

¹ Two groups of exceptions to the general movement of his lines have been remarked, viz. passages where he indulges his taste for sonorous proper names, and passages "where he follows the Authorised Version of the Bible—especially where the speaker is the Deity."

COMMENDATORY VERSES.

IN PARADISUM AMISSAM SUMMI POETÆ
JOHANNIS MILTONI.

QUI legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?
Res cunctas, et cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, et fines, continet iste liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur et toto quicquid in orbe latet;
Terræque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi flammivomumque specus;
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, et Tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli; 10
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam;
Et sine fine Chaos, et sine fine Deus;
Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futurum?
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britannia legit.
O quantos in bella duces, quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, et quanta, prælia dira tuba!
Cœlestes acies, atque in certamine cælum!
Et quæ cœlestes pugna deceret agros! 20
Quantus in ætheriis tollit se Lucifer armis,
Atque ipso graditur vix Michael minor!

Quantis et quam funestis concurratur iris,
 Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!
 Dum vulsos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
 Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt:
 Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
 Et metuit pugnæ non superesse suæ.
 At simul in cœlis Messiaë insignia fulgent,
 Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo, 30
 Horrendumque rotæ strident, et sæva rotarum
 Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
 Et flammæ vibrant, et vera tonitrua rauco
 Admistis flammis insonuere polo,
 Excidit attonitis mens omnis, et impetus omnis,
 Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt;
 Ad pœnas fugiunt, et, ceu foret Orcus asylum,
 Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
 Cedite, Romani Scriptores; cedite, Graii;
 Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus: 40
 Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinisse putabit
 Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

S. B., M.D.

ON PARADISE LOST.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
 In slender book his vast design unfold,
 Messiah crowned, God's reconciled decree,
 Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,
 Heaven, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
 Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
 That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
 The sacred truths to fable and old song
 (So Samson groped the temple's posts in spite),
 The world o'erwhelming to revenge his sight. 10

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
 I liked his project, the success did fear;
 Through that wide field how he his way should find
 O'er which lame Faith leads Understanding blind;
 Lest he perplexed the things he would explain,
 And what was easy he should render vain.

Or, if a work so infinite he spanned,
 Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
 (Such as disquiet always what is well,
 And by ill imitating would excel) 20
 Might hence presume the whole Creation's day
 To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty Poet; nor despise
 My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
 But I am now convinced, and none will dare
 Within thy labours to pretend a share.
 Thou hast not missed one thought that could be fit,
 And all that was improper dost omit;
 So that no room is here for writers left,
 But to detect their ignorance or theft. 30

That majesty which through thy work doth reign
 Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
 And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
 As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
 At once delight and horror on us seize;
 Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease,
 And above human flight dost soar aloft
 With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
 The bird named from that Paradise you sing
 So never flags, but always keeps on wing. 40

Where could'st thou words of such a compass find?
 Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
 Just Heaven, thee like Tiresias to requite,
 Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
 With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;

While the Town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
And, like a pack-horse, tires without his bells.

Their fancies like our bushy points appear;

The poets tag them, we for fashion wear. 50

I too, transported by the mode, offend,

And while I meant to praise thee, must commend.

Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,

In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

A. M.

THE VERSE¹.

The measure is English heroic verse, without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed them. Not without cause, therefore, some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also, long since, our best English tragedies; as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the

¹ Preceded by some remarks from the publisher:

The Printer to the Reader.

Courteous Reader, there was no Argument at first intended to the book; but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the poem rimes not.—*S. Simmons.*

learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory. This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

This First Book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise, wherein he was placed: then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the Serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great Deep. Which action passed over, the Poem hastes into the midst of things; presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, described here, not in the Centre (for Heaven and Earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest called Chaos: here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion; calls up him who, next in order and dignity, lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; they rise: their numbers, array of battle, their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech; comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven; but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible creation was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises, suddenly built out of the Decv: the infernal Peers there sit in council.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

OF Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden Tree, whose ^{by the Sacrifice of} mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed
In the beginning how the Heavens and Earth
Rose out of Chaos: or, if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for thou know'st; thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark

Illumine, what is low raise and support;
 That to the highth of this great argument
 I may assert Eternal Providence,
 And justify the ways of God to men.

Say first (for Heaven hides nothing from thy ^{view},
 Nor the deep tract of Hell) say first what cause
 Moved our grand parents, in that happy state, [†]
 Favoured of Heaven so highly, to fall off
 From their Creator, and transgress his will
 For one restraint, lords of the world besides.
 Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
 The infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,
 Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
 The Mother of Mankind, what time his pride
 Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
 Of rebel Angels, by whose aid, aspiring
 To set himself in glory above his peers,
 He trusted to have equalled the Most High,
 If he opposed; and with ambitious aim
 Against the throne and monarchy of God
 Raised impious war in Heaven and battle proud,
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
 Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
 With hideous ruin and combustion, down
 To bottomless perdition; there to dwell
 In adamantine chains and penal fire,
 Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.

Nine times the space that measures day and night 50
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf,
 Confounded though immortal. But his doom
 Reserved him to more wrath; for now the thought
 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain

Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,
 That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,
 Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.
 At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
 The dismal situation waste and wild : 60
 A dungeon horrible, on all sides round,
 As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Served only to discover sights of woe,
 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.
 Such place Eternal Justice had prepared
 For those rebellious; here their prison ordained
 In utter darkness, and their portion set, *center*
 As far removed from God and light of Heaven
 As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.
 Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell!
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
 He soon discerns; and, weltering by his side,
 One next himself in power, and next in crime,
 Long after known in Palestine, and named 80
 Beëlzebub. To whom the Arch-Enemy,
 And thence in Heaven called Satan, with bold words
 Breaking the horrid silence, thus began :

"If thou beest he—but Oh how fallen! how changed
 From him, who in the happy realms of light,
 Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads, though bright! if he whom mutual league,
 United thoughts and counsels, equal hope

And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
 Joined with me once, now misery hath join'd. 90
 In equal ruin: into what pit thou seest
 From what highth fallen, so much the stronger proved
 He with his thunder: and till then who knew
 The force of those dire arms? Yet not for those,
 Nor what the potent victor in his rage
 Can else inflict, do I repent, or change,
 Though changed in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,
 And high disdain from sense of injured merit,
 That with the Mightiest raised me to contend,
 And to the fierce contention brought along 100
 Innumerable force of Spirits armed,
 That durst dislike his reign, and, me preferring,
 His utmost power with adverse power oppos'd
 In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,
 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
 All is not lost: the unconquerable will,
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,
 And courage never to submit or yield:
 And what is else not to be overcome?
 That glory never shall his wrath or might 110
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power
 Who, from the terror of this arm, so late
 Doubted his empire—that were low indeed;
 That were an ignominy and shame beneath
 This downfall; since by fate the strength of gods
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail;
 Since, through experience of this great event,
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
 We may with more successful hope resolve
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,

Irreconcilable to our grand foe,
 Who now triumphs, and in the excess of joy
 Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven."

So spake the apostate Angel, though in pain,
 Vaunting aloud, but racked with deep despair;
 And him thus answered soon his bold compeer

"O Prince, O Chief of many throned powers,
 That led the embattled Seraphim to war

Under thy conduct, and, in dreadful deeds
 Fearless, endangered Heaven's perpetual King,
 And put to proof his high supremacy,
 Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate!
 Too well I see and rue the dire event

130

That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
 Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
 In horrible destruction laid thus low,

As far as gods and Heavenly essences
 Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains
 Invincible, and vigour soon returns,

140

Though all our glory extinct, and happy state
 Here swallowed up in endless misery.

But what if he our conqueror (whom I now
 Of force believe almighty, since no less
 Than such could have o'erpowered such force as ours)

Have left us this our spirit and strength entire,
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
 That we may so suffice his vengeful ire;

Or do him mightier service, as his thralls
 By right of war, whate'er his business be,
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep?

150

What can it then avail, though yet we feel
 Strength undiminished, or eternal being

To undergo eternal punishment?"

Whereto with speedy words the Arch-Fiend replied:

"Fallen Cherub, to be weak is miserable,

Doing or suffering: but of this be sure,

To do aught good never will be our task,

But ever to do ill our sole delight,

160

As being the contrary to his high will

Whom we resist. If then his providence

Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,

Our labour must be to pervert that end,

And out of good still to find means of evil;

Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps

Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb

His inmost counsels from their destined aim.

But see! the angry victor hath recalled;

His ministers of vengeance and pursuit

170

Back to the gates of Heaven; the sulphurous hail,

Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid

The fiery surge that from the precipice

Of Heaven received us falling; and the thunder,

Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage,

Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now

To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.

Let us not slip the occasion, whether scorn

Or satiate fury yield it from our foe.

Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,

180

The seat of desolation, void of light,

Save what the glimmering of these livid flames

Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend

From off the tossing of these fiery waves;

There rest, if any rest can harbour there.

And, re-assembling our afflicted powers,

Consult how we may henceforth most offend

Our enemy, our own loss how repair,
 How overcome this dire calamity,
 What reinforcement we may gain from hope,
 If not what resolution from despair."

190

Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
 With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
 That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides,
 Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
 Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
 As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warred on Jove
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream.

200

Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
 The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff
 Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
 With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
 Moors by his side under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays:

So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
 Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence
 Had risen or heaved his head, but that the will
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
 Evil to others, and enraged might see
 How all his malice served but to bring forth
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
 On Man by him seduced, but on himself
 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance poured.

210

220

Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
Driven backward slope their pointing spires, and, rolled
In billows, leave i' the midst a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he 'steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
That felt unusual weight; till on dry land
He lights—if it were land that ever burned
With solid, as the lake with liquid fire,
And such appeared in hue, as when the force 230
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shattered side
Of thundering Ætna, whose combustible
And fuelled entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublimed with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involved
With stench and smoke: such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet. Him followed his next mate,
Both glorying to have scaped the Stygian flood
As gods, and by their own recovered strength, 240
Not by the sufferance of supernal power.

“Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,”
Said then the lost Archangel, “this the seat
That we must change for Heaven? this mournful gloom
For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: farthest from him is best,
Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme
Above his equals. Farewell, happy fields,
Where joy for ever dwells! Hail, horrors! hail, 250
Infernal world! and thou, profoundest Hell,
Receive thy new possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.

The mind is its own place, and in itself
 Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven
 What matter where, if I be still the same,
 And what I should be, all but less than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
 We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
 To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell:
 Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
 The associates and co-partners of our loss,
 Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
 And call them not to share with us their part
 In this unhappy mansion, or once more
 With rallied arms to try what may be yet
 Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?" 260

So Satan spake; and him Beëlzebub
 Thus answered: "Leader of those armies bright
 Which but the Omnipotent none could have foiled,
 If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
 Of hope in fears and dangers—heard so oft
 In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
 Of battle when it raged, in all assaults
 Their surest signal—they will soon resume
 New courage and revive, though now they lie
 Grovelling and prostrate on yon lake of fire,
 As we erewhile, astounded and amazed—
 No wonder, fallen such a pernicious highth!"

He scarce had ceased when the superior Fiend
 Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
 Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round;
 Behind him cast. The broad circumference

Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
 Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
 At evening from the top of Fesolè,
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
 Rivers, or mountains, in her spotty globe.
 His spear—to equal which the tallest pine,
 Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand—
 He walked with, to support uneasy steps
 Over the burning marle, not like those steps
 On Heaven's azure; and the torrid clime
 Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire.
 Nathless he so endured, till on the beach
 Of that inflamèd sea he stood, and called
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay entranced,
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brook
 In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
 High over-arched embower; or scattered sedge
 Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion armed
 Hath vexed the Red-Sea coast, whose waves
 Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursued
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
 From the safe shore their floating carcasses
 And broken chariot-wheels: so thick bestrown,
Abject and lost, lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
 He called so loud that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded: ["Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the flower of Heaven, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can seize
 Eternal Spirits: or have ye chosen this place
 After the toil of battle to repose

Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the conqueror, who now beholds
Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
With scattered arms and ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heaven-gates discern
The advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf?
Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

320

330

They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
Waved round the coast, up called a pitchy clot
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile:
So numberless were those bad Angels seen
Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell,
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires
Till, as a signal given, the uplifted spear
Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their course, in even balance down they light
On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain:
A multitude, like which the populous North
Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass

350

Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands. Forthwith,
 from every squadron and each band,
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
 Their great Commander; godlike shapes, and for
 Excelling human, princely dignities,
 And powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones;
 Though of their names in Heavenly records now
 Be no memorial, blotted out and rased
 By their rebellion from the Books of Life.
 Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
 Got them new names, till, wandering o'er the Earth,
 Through God's high sufferance for the trial of Man,
 By falsities and lies the greatest part
 Of Mankind they corrupted to forsake
 God their Creator, and the invisible
 Glory of him that made them to transform
 Oft to the image of a brute, adorned
 With gay religions full of pomp and go
 And devils to adore for deities.
 Then were they known to men by various name
 And various idols through the heathen world.

360

Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
 Roused from the slumber on that fiery couch,
 At their great Emperor's call, as next in worth
 Came singly where he stood on the bare strand.
 While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.

The chief were those who, from the pit of Hell,
 Roaming to seek their prey on Earth, durst fix
 Their seats long after next the seat of God,
 Their altars by his altar, gods adored
Among the nations round, and durst abide

Jehovah thundering 'out of Sion, throned
 Between the Cherubim; yea, often placed
 Within ^{the Temple of Solomon} his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations; and with cursed things
 His holy rites and solemn feasts profaned, 390
 And with their darkness durst affront his light.
 First, Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
 Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,
 Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
 Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
 To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
 Worshiped in Rabba and her watery plain,
 In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
 Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
 Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart 400
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
 His temple right against the temple of God
 On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
 The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
 And black Gehenna called, the type of Hell.
 Next Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's so
 From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild
 Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flowery dale of Sibma clad with vines,
 And Eleale to the Asphaltic pool.
 Peor his other name, when he enticed
 Israel in Sittim, on their march from N
 To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
 Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged
 Even to that hill of scandal, by the grove
 Of Moloch homicide, lust hard by hate;
 Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.

With these came they who, from the bordering flood
 Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts 420
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 Of Baalim and Ashtaroth—those male,
 These feminine. For Spirits, when they please,
 Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
 And uncompounded is their essence pure,
 Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
 Like cumbrous flesh; but, in what shape they choose,
 Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430.
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook
 Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
 To bestial gods; for which their heads as low
 Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
 Of despicable foes. With these in troop
 Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians called
 Astarte, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns;
 To whose bright image nightly by the moon 440
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
 In Sion also not unsung, where stood
 Her temple on the offensive mountain, built
 By that uxorious king whose heart, though large,
 Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
 To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,
 Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450
 Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood

Of Thammuz yearly wounded : the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat, ~~the~~
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourned in earnest, when the captive ark,
Maimed his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the grunsel-edge, ~~on~~
Where he fell flat, and shamed his worshipers :
Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish ; yet had his temple high
Reared in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
He also against the house of God was bold : ~~as~~
A leper once he lost and gained a king, ~~the~~
Ahaz, his sottish conqueror, whom he drew
God's altar to disparage and displace
For, one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the gods
Whom he had vanquished. (After these appeared
A crew who, under names of old renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,
With monstrous shapes and sorceries abused
Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek
Their wandering gods disguised in brutish forms
Rather than human. Nor did Israel scape
The infection, when their borrowed gold compose
The calf in Oreb ; and the rebel king

Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazed ox—
Jehovah, who, in one night, when he passed
From Egypt marching, equalled with one stroke
Both her first-born and all her bleating gods. ²
Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself. To him no temple stood
Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled
With lust and violence the house of God?
In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage; and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Exposed a matron, to avoid worse rape.

These were the prime in order and in might;
The rest were long to tell, though far renowned.
The Ionian gods—of Javan's issue^{6 62} held
Gods, yet confessed ^{later} than Heaven and Earth,
Their boasted parents: Titan, Heaven's first-born
With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,
His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;
So Jove usurping reigned. These, first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus ruled the middle air,
Their highest Heaven; or on the Delphian cliff,

Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields,
And o'er the Celtic ^{fields} roamed the utmost isles.

All these and more came flocking; but with looks
Downcast and damp, yet such wherein appeared
Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their Chief
Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
In loss itself; which on his countenance cast
Like doubtful hue. But he, his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently raised
Their fainting courage, and dispelled their fears:
Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud and clarions, be upreared
His mighty standard. That proud honour claimed
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall:
Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurled
The imperial ensign, which, full high advanced,
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
With gems and golden lustre rich emblazed,
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds:
At which the universal host up-sent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were seen
Ten thousand banners rise into the air,
With orient colours waving; with them rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appeared, and serried shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable. Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood

Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battle, and instead of rage⁶
 Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
 Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage,
 With solemn touches, troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and Pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
 Breathing united force with fixed thought, 560
 Moved on in silence to soft pipes that charmed
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
 Advanced in view they stand, a horrid front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
 Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,
 Awaiting what command their mighty Chief
 Had to impose. He through the armed files
 Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
 The whole battalion views—their order due,
 Their visages and stature as of gods;
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and hardening in his strength
 Glories; for never, since created Man,
 Met such embodied force as, named with,
 Could merit more than that small infantry
 Warred on by cranes: though all the giant' brood
 Of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mixed with auxiliar gods; and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son,
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
 And all who since, baptized or infidel,
 Jousted in Aspramont, or Montalban,

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Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond;
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed
 Their dread Commander. He, above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
 Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost
 All her original brightness, nor appeared
 Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
 Of glory obscured: (as when the sun new-risen
 Looks through the horizontal misty air
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon,
 In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs. Darkened so, yet shone
 Above them all the Archangel; but his face
 Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
 Waiting revenge. Cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse and passion, to behold
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in bliss), condemned
 For ever now to have their lot in pain;
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amerced
 Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung
 For his revolt; yet faithful how they stood,
 Their glory withered: as, when Heaven's fire
 Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines,
 With singed top their stately growth, though bare
 Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepared
 To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they benc

590

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610

From wing to wing, and half enclose him round¹
 With all his peers: attention held them mute.
 Thrice he assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn,^{for his own knees}
 Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last 620
 Words interwove with sighs found out their way:
 "O myriads of immortal Spirits! O Powers
 Matchless, but with the Almighty!—and that strife
 Was not inglorious, though the event was dire,
 As this place testifies, and this dire change,
 Hateful to utter. But what power of mind.
 Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth
 Of knowledge past or present, could have feared
 How such united force of gods, how such 630
 As stood like these, could ever know repulse?
 For who can yet believe, though after loss,
 That all these puissant legions, whose exile
 Hath emptied Heaven, shall fail to re-ascend,
 Self-raised, and re-possess their native seat?
 For me, be witness all the host of Heaven,
 If counsels different, or danger shunned
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns⁵
 Monarch in Heaven, till then as one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
 Consent or custom, and his regal state
 Put forth at full, but still his strength concealed,
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall,
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our o^w
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 New war, provoked; our better part remains
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
 What force effected not; that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force hath overcome but half his foe.

Space may produce new worlds ; whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heaven that he ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven.
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere;
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor the Abyss
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full counsel must mature. Peace is despaired,
For who can think submission? War, then, war
Open or understood, must be resolved."

660

He spake ; and, to confirm his words, out-flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim ; the sudden blaze
Far round illumined Hell. Highly they raged
Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There stood a hill not far, whose ^{horrible} grisly top
Belched fire and rolling smoke ; the rest entire
Shone with a ^{gleaming} glossy scurf, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of sulphur. Thither, winged with speed,
A numerous brigad hastened : as when bands
Of pioneers, with spade and pickaxe armed,
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
From Heaven, for even in Heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,

'Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific. By him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransacked the centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother Earth
For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Opened into the hill a spacious wound,
And digged out ribs of gold. Let none admire^h
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wondering tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings, ^{to}
Learn how their greatest monuments of fame, ^{the}
And strength, and art, are easily outdone
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they, with incessant toil
And hands innumerable, scarce perform.
Nigh on the plain, in many cells prepared,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluiced from the lake, a second multitude
With wondrous art ^{melted} founded the massy ore,
Severing each kind, and scummed the bullion-^{gross}
A third as soon had formed within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By strange conveyance filled each hollow nook
As in an organ, from one blast of wind,
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breath^{es}.
Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave: nor did there war.

Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven;
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
 Nor great Alcairo, such magnificence
 Equalled in all their glories, to enshrine
Belus or Serapis their gods, or seat
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
 In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile
 Stood fixed her stately highth, and straight the doors,
 Opening their brazen folds, discover, wide
 Within, her ample spaces o'er the smooth
 And level pavement: from the arched roof,
 Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
 Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
 With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
 As from a sky.² The hasty multitude
 Admiring entered, and the work some praise,
 And some the architect: his hand was known
 In Heaven by many a towered structure high,
 Where sceptred Angels held their residence,
 And sat as princes, whom the supreme King
Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
 Each in his Hierarchy, the Orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or unadored
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
 Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
 From Heaven they fabled,³ thrown by angry Jove
 Sheer o'er the crystal battlements: from morn
 To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
 A summer's day; and with the setting sun
 Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
 On Lemnos, the Ægæan isle. Thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
 Fell long before; nor aught availed him now:

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To have built in Heaven high towers; nor did he scape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent 750
With his industrious crew to build in Hell.

Meanwhile the winged haralds, by command
Of sovran power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers. Their summons called
From every band and squared regiment
By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
With hundreds and with thousands trooping came 760
Attended. All access was thronged, the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
(Though like a covered field, where champions bold
Wont ride in armed, and at the Soldan's chair
Defied the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or career with lance,
Thick swarmed, both on the ground and in the
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
The suburb of their straw-built citadel,
New rubbed with balm, expatiate and confer
Their state-affairs. So thick the aery crowd
Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! they but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race 780
Beyond the Indian mount; or faery elves,

BOOK I.

Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon
Sits arbitress, ^{and nearer} to the Earth
^{in the moon's revels} Wheels her pale course; they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven : some advise it, others dissuade. A third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal, or not much inferior, to themselves, about this time to be created. Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search : Satan, their chief, undertakes alone the voyage ; is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to Hell-gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them ; by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven ; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK II.

on the plain

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far^r
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind^o
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings¹ barbaric² pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat, by merit³ raised
To that bad eminence; and, from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heaven; and, by success untaught,
His proud imaginations thus displayed: 10

“Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven!
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigour, though oppressed and fallen,
I give not Heaven for lost: from this descent
Celestial Virtues rising will appear
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate. 15
Me though just right, and the fixed laws of Heaven,
Did first create your leader, next, free choice,
With what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20
Hath been achieved of merit, yet this loss,
Thus far at least recovered, hath much more

Established, in a safe unenvied throne,
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state
 In Heaven, which follows dignity, might draw
 Envy from each inferior; but who here
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes
 Foremost to stand against the Thunderer's aim
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
 Of endless pain? Where there is then no good
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
 From faction; for none sure will claim in Hell
 Precedence, none whose portion is so small
 Of present pain that with ambitious mind
 Will covet more. With this advantage then
 To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
 More than can be in Heaven, we now return
 To claim our just inheritance of old,
 Surer to prosper than prosperity
 Could have assured us; and by what best way,
 Whether of open war or covert guile,
 We now debate; who can advise may speak."

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He ceased; and next him Moloch, sceptred king,
 Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
 That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by despair.
 His trust was with the Eternal to be deemed
 Equal in strength, and rather than be less
 Cared not to be at all; with that care lost
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse,
 He recked not, and these words thereafter spake:

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"My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait

The signal to ascend, sit lingering here
 Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling-place
 Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
 The prison of his tyranny who reigns
 By our delay? No! let us rather choose, 60
 Armed with Hell-flames and fury, all at once
 O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,
 Turning our tortures into horrid arms
 Against the Torturer; when to meet the noise
 Of his almighty engine he shall hear
 Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels, and his throne itself
 Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,
 His own invented torments. But perhaps 70
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
 Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,
 That in our proper motion we ascend
 Up to our native seat; descent and fall
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
 When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
 Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
 With what compulsion and laborious flight 80
 We sunk thus low? The ascent is easy then;
 The event is feared: should we again provoke
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
 To our destruction—if there be in Hell
 Fear to be worse destroyed! What can be worse
 Than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, condemned
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire

Must exercise us without hope of end,
 The vassals of his anger, when the scourge
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour,
 Calls us to penance? More destroyed than thus,
 We should be quite abolished, and expire.
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense *from*
 His utmost ire? which, to the highth enraged,
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce
 To nothing this essential—happier far *existence*
 Than miserable to have eternal being!—
 Or if our substance be indeed divine,
 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst
 On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
 Our power sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
 And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
 Though inaccessible, his fatal throne:
 Which, if not victory, is yet revenge.”

He ended frowning, and his look denounced
 Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous
 To less than gods. On the other side up rose
 Belial, in act more graceful and humane,
 A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seemed
 For dignity composed, and high exploit.
 But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
 Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
 Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
 Timorous and slothful: yet he pleased the ear,
 And with persuasive accent thus began:

“I should be much for open war, O Peers,
 As not behind in hate, if what was urged
 Main reason to persuade immediate war

Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success;
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,
 In what he counsels and in what excels
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
 And utter dissolution, as the scope
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
 First, what revenge? The towers of Heaven are filled
 With armed watch, that render all access 130
 Impregnable; oft on the bordering deep
Encamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of Night,
 Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
 With blackest insurrection, to confound
Heaven's purest light, yet our great enemy
 All incorruptible would on his throne
 Sit unpolluted, and the ethereal mould
 Incapable of stain would soon expel 140
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire,
 Victorious. Thus repulsed, our final hope
 Is flat despair: we must exasperate
 The almighty victor to spend all his rage,
 And that must end us, that must be our cure—
 To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated Night,
 Devoid of sense and motion? And who knows,
 Let this be good, whether our angry foe
 Can give it, or will ever? How he can
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure. 150

Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,
 To give his enemies their wish, and end
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
 To punish endless? 'Wherefore cease we, then?'
 Say they who counsel war; 'we are decreed,
 Reserved, and destined to eternal woe;
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
 What can we suffer worse?' Is this then worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
 What when we fled amain, pursued and strook^h
 With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought
 The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seemed
 A refuge from those wounds. Or when we lay
 Chained on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
 What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,
 Awaked, should blow them into sevenfold rage,
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again
 His red right hand to plague us? What if all
 Her stores were opened, and this firmament
 Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps,
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurled,
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey
 Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved,
 Ages of hopeless end! This would be worse
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike

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My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's highth
 All these our motions vain sees and derides, 191
 Not more almighty to resist our might
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
 Thus trampled, thus expelled to suffer here
 Chains and these torments? Better these than worse,
 By my advice; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200
 That so ordains: this was at first resolved,
 If we were wise, against so great a foe
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
 And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
 What yet they know must follow—to endure
 Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqueror. This is now
 Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
 Our supreme foe in time may much remit 210
 His anger, and perhaps, thus far removed,
 Not mind us not offending, satisfied
 With what is punished; whence these raging fires
 Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
 Our purer essence then will overcome
 Their noxious vapour, or inured not feel,
 Or changed at length, and to the place conformed
 In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light; 220

^wLive to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
 Free, and to none accountable, preferring
 Hard liberty before the easy yoke
 Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse,
 We can create, and in what place so'er 26c
 Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
 Through labour and endurance. This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
 Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling Sire
 Choose to reside, his 'glory unobscured,*
 And with the majesty of darkness round
 Covers his throne, from whence deep thunders roar,
 Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell!
 As he our darkness, cannot we his light
 Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270
 Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more
 Our torments also may in length of time
 Become our elements, these piercing fires
 As soft as now severe, our temper changed
 Into their temper; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
 Of order, how in safety best we may 28c
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of war. Ye have what I advise."

He scarce had finished, when such murmur filled
 The assembly, as when hollow rocks retain
 The sound of blustering winds, which all night long

Had roused the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
 Seafaring men o'erwatched, whose bark by chance,
 Or pinnace, anchors in a craggy bay
 After the tempest: such applause was heard 290
 As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleased,
 Advising peace; for such another field
 They dreaded worse than Hell; so much the fear
 Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
 Wrought still within them; and no less desire
 To found this nether empire, which might rise,
 By policy, and long process of time,
 In emulation opposite to Heaven.
 Which when Beëlzebub perceived, than whom,
 Satan except, none higher sat, with grave 300
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
 A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven *brow*
 Deliberation sat and public care;
 And princely counsel in his face yet shone,
 Majestic though in ruin. Sage he stood,
 With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear *the weight of centuries*
 The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
 Drew audience and attention still as night
 Or summer's noontide air, while thus he spake:
 "Thrones and imperial Powers, Offspring of Heaven,
 Ethereal Virtues! or these titles now 311
 Must we renounce, and, changing style, be called
 Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
 A growing empire—doubtless! while we dream,
 And know not that the King of Heaven hath do
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heaven's high jurisdiction, in new league

Banded against his throne, but to remain
In strictest bondage, though thus far removed. 320
Under the inevitable curb, reserved
His captive multitude. For he, be sure,
In highth or depth, still first and last will reign
Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
What sit we then projecting peace and war?
War hath determined us, and foiled with loss 330
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Vouchsafed or sought; for what peace will be given
To us enslaved, but custody severe,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
Inflicted? and what peace can we return.
But, to our power, hostility and hate,
Untamed reluctance, and revenge, though slow,
Yet ever plotting how the conqueror least
May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
In doing what we most in suffering feel? 340
Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heaven, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
Some easier enterprise? There is a place
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not), another world, the happy seat
Of some new race called Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favoured more 350
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath,

That shook Heaven's whole circumference, confirmed.
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,
 Or substance, how endued, and what their power,
 And where their weakness, how attempted best, *attacked*
 By force or subtlety. Though Heaven be shut,
 And Heaven's high Arbitrator sit secure
 In his own strength, this place may lie exposed, 360
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defence who hold it; here, perhaps,
 Some advantageous act may be achieved
 By sudden onset: either with Hell-fire
 To waste his whole creation, or possess
 All as our own, and drive, as we are driven,
 The puny habitants; or if not drive,
 Seduce them to our party, that their God
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise
 In his disturbance; when his darling sons,
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
 Their frail original, and faded bliss,
 Faded so soon! Advise if this be worth
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
 Hatching vain empires." Thus Beëlzebub
 Pleaded his devilish counsel, first devised
 By Satan, and in part proposed; for whence, 380
 But from the author of all ill, could spring
 So deep a malice, to confound the race
 Of Mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite
 The great Creator? But their spite still serves

His glory to augment. The bold design^o
 Pleased highly those infernal States, and joy
 Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews:

“Well have ye judged, well ended long debate, 390
Synod of gods, and, like to what ye are,
Great things resolv’d; which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
 Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
 Of those bright confines, whence, with neighbouring arms
 And opportune excursion, we may chance
 Re-enter Heaven; or else in some mild zone *attack*
 Dwell not unvisited of Heaven’s fair light,
 Secure, and at the brightening orient beam
 Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious air,
 To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
 Shall breathe her balm. But first, whom shall we send
 In search of this new world? whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
 The dark, unbottomed, infinite Abyss,
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight,
 Upborne with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
 The happy isle?² What strength, what art, can th
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
 All circumspection, and we now no less
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send
 The weight of all, and our last hope, relies.”

This said, he sat; and expectation held
 His look suspense, awaiting who appeared

To second, or oppose, or undertake
 The perilous attempt; but all sat mute, 420
 Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
 In other's countenance read his own dismay, ^{unperturbed}
 Astonished. None among the choice and prime ^{chief}
 Of those Heaven-warring champions could be found
 So hardy as to proffer or accept, ^{could} ^{offer to}
 Alone, the dreadful voyage; till at last
 Satan, whom now transcendent glory raised
 Above his fellows, with monarchical pride
 Conscious of highest worth, unmoved thus spake:
 "O Progeny of Heaven, empyrean Thrones! 430
 With reason hath deep silence and demur
 "Seized us, though undismayed." Long is the way
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
 Our prison strong, this huge convex of fire,
 Outrageous to devour, immures us round
 Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant,
 Barred over us, prohibit all egress.
 These passed, if any pass, the void profound
 Of unessential Night receives him next,
 Wide-gaping, and with utter loss of being 440
 Threatens him, plunged in that abortive gulf.
 If thence he scape into whatever world,
 Or unknown region, what remains him less
 Than unknown dangers and as hard escape?
 But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
 And this imperial sovranity, adorned
 With splendour, armed with power, if aught proposed
 And judged of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger, could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume 450
 These royalties, and not refuse to reign,

Refusing to accept as great a share
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike
 To him who reigns, and so much to him due
 Of hazard more, as he above the rest
 High honoured sits? Go therefore, mighty Powers,
 Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home,
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease
 The present misery, and render Hell
 More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460
 To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
 Of this ill mansion; intermit no watch
 Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad
 Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
 Deliverance for us all: this enterprise
 None shall partake with me." Thus saying, rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply;
 Prudent, lest, from his resolution raised,
 Others among the chief might offer now
 (Certain to be refused) what erst they feared, 470
 And, so refused, might in opinion stand
 His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more the adventure than his voice
 Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;
 Their rising all at once was as the sound
 Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
 With awful reverence prone; and as a god
 Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.
 Nor failed they to express how much they praised 480
 That for the general safety he despised
 His own; for neither do the Spirits damned
 Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
 Their specious deeds on Earth, which glory excites,

secret

Or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal.

Thus they their doubtful consultations dark

Ended, rejoicing in their matchless Chief:

As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds

Ascending, while the North-wind sleeps, o'erspread

Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element ^{sky}

Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower;

If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet,

Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,

The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds

Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.

O shame to men! Devil with devil damned

Firm concord holds, men only disagree

Of creatures rational, though under hope

Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming peace,

Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife

500

Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,

Wasting the Earth, each other to destroy:

As if (which might induce us to accord) &

Man had not hellish foes enow besides,

That day and night for his destruction wait!

The Stygian council thus dissolved; and forth

In order came the grand infernal Peers;

Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seemed

Alone the antagonist of Heaven, nor less

Than Hell's dread Emperor, with pomp supreme,

510

And god-like imitated state; him round

A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed &

With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.

Then of their session ended they bid cry

With trumpet's regal sound the great result:

Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim

Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy,

By harald's voice explained ; the hollow Abyss
 Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
 With deafening shout returned them loud acclaim. 520
 Thence more at ease their minds and somewhat raised
 By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
 Disband ; and, wandering, each his several way
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
 Leads him perplexed, where he may likeliest find
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
 The irksome hours, till his great Chief return
 Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
 Upon the wing or in swift race contend,
 As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields ; 530
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal ;
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form :
 As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
 Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
 To battle in the clouds ; before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears,
 Till thickest legions close ; with feats of arms
From either end of Heaven the welkin burns.
 Others, with vast Typhœan rage more fell,
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air ⁱⁿ gale
 In whirlwind ; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar :
 As when Alcides, from Œchalia crowned
 With conquest, felt the envenomed robe, and tore
 Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,
 And Lichas from the top of Ceta threw
 Into the Euboic sea. Others more mild,
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing
 With notes angelical to many a harp
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
 By doom of battle ; and complain that Fate

Free Virtue should enthral to Force or Chance.
 Their song was partial, but the harmony /
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
 (For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense).
 Others apart sat on a hill retired,
 In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
 Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate, }
 Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, }
 And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
 Of good and evil much they argued then,
 Of happiness and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,
 Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!
 Yet with a pleasing sorcery could charm
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breast
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
 Another part, in squadrons and gross bands,
 On bold adventure to discover wide
 That dismal world, if any clime perhaps *place*
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend
 Four ways their flying march, along the banks
 Of four infernal rivers that disgorge
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams:
 Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
 Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
 Far off from these a slow and silent stream,
 Lethe, the river of oblivion, rolls

Her watery labyrinth, whereof whō drinks
 Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
 Beyond this flood a frozen continent
 Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
 Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
 Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice, 590
 A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog^d
 Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
 Where armies whole have sunk²: the parching air
 Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire.
 Thither, by harpy³-footed Furies haled,
 At certain revolutions all the damned
 Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice v
 Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immovable, infixed, and frozen round
Periods of time; thence hurried back to fire.
 They ferry over this Lethean sound strait
 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment,
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so near the brink;
 But Fate withstands, and, to oppose the attempt. .610
Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
 The ford, and of itself the water flies
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
 In confused march forlorn, the adventurous bands,
 With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,

Viewed first their lamentable lot, and found
 No rest. Through many a dark and dreary vale^e
 They passed, and many a region dolorous,
 O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620
 Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
 A universe of death, which God by curse
 Created evil, for evil only good,
 Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse
 Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,
 Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire.

Meanwhile the Adversary of God and Man, 630
 Satan, with thoughts inflamed of highest design,
 Puts on swift wings, and toward the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
 He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left;
 Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars^s
 Up to the fiery concave towering high.
 As when far off at sea a fleet descried
 Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds,
 Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring 640
 Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood,
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape,
 Ply stemming nightly toward the pole: so seem^{ed}
 Far off the flying Fiend. At last appear
 Hell-bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,
 And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were^{ed} brass,
 Three iron, three of adamantine rock,
 Impenetrable, impaled with circling fire,
 Yet unconsumed. Before the gates there sat
 On either side a formidable Shape.

The one^x seemed woman to the waist, and fair,
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
 With mortal sting. About her middle round
 A cry of Hell-hounds never-ceasing barked
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
 A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
 If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still barked and howled
 Within unseen. Far less abhorred than these
Vexed Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts
 Calabria from the hoarse¹ Trinacrian shore;
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, called
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,
 Lured with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon²
 Eclipses at their charms.³ The other Shape—
 If shape it might be called that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
 Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
 For each seemed either—black it stood as Night,
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
 And shook a dreadful dart; what seemed his head
 The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
 Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
 The monster moving onward came as fast,
 With horrid strides; Hell trembled as he strode.
 The undaunted Fiend what this might be admired,
 Admired, not feared—God and his Son except,
 Created thing naught valued he nor shunned—
 And with disdainful look thus first began:

“Whence and what art thou, execrable Shape,
 That dar’st, though grim and terrible, advance

Thy miscreated front athwart my way
 To yonder gates? Through them I mean to pass,
 That be assured, without leave asked of thee.
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven."

To whom the Goblin, full of wrath, replied:
 "Art thou that Traitor-Angel, art thou he,
 Who first broke peace in Heaven and faith, till then 690
 Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms
 Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons, And
Conjured against the Highest, for which both thou
 And they, outcast from God, are here condemned
 To waste eternal days in woe and pain? And
 And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
 Hell-doomed, and breath'st defiance here and scorn,
 Where I reign king, and, to enrage thee more,
 Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,
 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700
 Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
 Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this dart
Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before."

So spake the grisly Terror, and in shape,
 So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold
 More dreadful and deform. On the other side,
 Incensed with indignation, Satan stood
 Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
 That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
 In the arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
 Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
 Levelled his deadly aim; their fatal hands of
 No second stroke intend; and such a frown
 Each cast at the other, as when two black clou
 With Heaven's artillery fraught come rattling on

Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
 Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
 To join their dark encounter in mid-air:
 So frowned the mighty combatants, that Hell
 Grew darker at their frown; so matched they stood; 720
 For never but once more 'was either like
 To meet so great a foe. And now great deeds
Had been achieved, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the snaky Sorceress, that sat *Sin*
 Fast by Hell-gate and kept the fatal key, *fateful*
 Risen, and with hideous outcry rushed between.

"O father, what intends thy hand," she cried,
 "Against thy only son? What fury, O son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
 Against thy father's head? and know'st for whom; 730
 For him who sits above, and laughs the while
 At thee ordained his drudge, to execute
 Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids—
 His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both!"

She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest
 Forbore; then these to her Satan returned:

"So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
 Thou interposest, that my sudden hand,
 Prevented, spares to tell thee yet by deeds
 What it intends, till first I know of thee 740
 What thing thou art, thus double-formed, and why,
 In this infernal vale first met, thou call'st
 Me father, and that phantasm' call'st my son.
 I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
 Sight more detestable than him and thee."

To whom thus the Portress of Hell-gate replied:
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 Now in thine eye so foul? once deemed so fair

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 Now in thine eye so foul? once deemed so fair

In Heaven, when at the assembly, and in sight ^{rebel}
 Of all the Seraphim with thee combined 750
 In bold conspiracy against Heaven's King,
 All on a sudden miserable pain
 Surprised thee; dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
 In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
 Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide,
 Likest to thee in shape and countenance bright,
 Then shining Heavenly-fair, a goddess armed,
 Out of thy head I sprung. Amazement seized
 All the host of Heaven; back they recoiled afraid
 At first, and called me *Sin*, and for a sign^r
Portentous held me; but, familiar grown,^c
 I pleased, and with attractive graces won
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
 Thyself in me thy perfect image^r viewing
 Becam'st enamoured; and such joy thou took'st
 With me in secret, that my womb conceived
 A growing burden. Meanwhile war arose,
 And fields were fought in Heaven; wherein remained
 (For what could else?) to our almighty foe
 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout 770
 Through all the Empyrean. Down they fell,
 Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
 Into this deep, and in the general fall
 I also; at which time this powerful key
 Into my hands was given, with charge to keep
 These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
 Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
 Alone; but long I sat not, till my womb,
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest,

Thine own begotten, breaking violent way,
 Tore through my entrails, that, with fear and pain *so that*
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 Transformed; but he, my inbred enemy,
 Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart,
 Made to destroy. I fled, and cried out Death!
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sighed
 From all her caves, and back resounded Death!
 I fled; but he pursued (though more, it seems, 790
 Inflamed with lust than rage) and, swifter far
 Me overtook, his mother, all dismayed
 And, in embraces forcible and foul
 Engendering with me, of that rape begot
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry
 Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceived
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To me; for, when they list, into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howl, and gnaw
 My bowels, their repast; then, bursting forth 800
 Afresh, with conscious terrors vex me round,
 That rest or intermission none I find.
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on,
 And me, his parent, would full soon devour
 For want of other prey, but that he knows
 His end with mine involved,² and knows that I
 Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
 Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounced.
 But thou, O father, I forewarn thee, shun 810
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
 To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
 Though tempered heavenly; for that mortal dint,
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist."

She finished; and the subtle Fiend his lōre
 Soon learned, now milder, and thus answered smooth:

"Dear daughter—since thou claim'st me for thy sire,
 And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys
 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change 820
 Befallen us unforeseen, unthought of—know,
 I come no enemy, but to set free
 From out this dark and dismal house of pain
 Both him and thee, and all the Heavenly host
 Of Spirits that, in our just pretences armed,
 Fell with us from on high. From them I go
 This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
 Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
 The unfounded deep, and through the void immense
 To search, with wandering quest a place foretold
 Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
 Created vast and round, a place of bliss
 In the purlieus of Heaven, and therein placed
 A race of upstart creatures, to supply
 Perhaps our vacant room, though more removed,
 Lest Heaven, surcharged with potent multitude, 840
 Might hap to move new broils. Be this, or aught
 Than this more secret, now designed, I haste
 To know; and, this once known, shall soon return,
 And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
 Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed
 With odours: there ye shall be fed and filled
 Immeasurably; all things shall be your prey."

He ceased, for both seemed highly pleased, and Death
 Grinned horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
 His famine should be filled, and blessed his maw

Destined to that good hour. No less rejoiced
His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire:

“The key of this infernal pit, by due ^{be} 850
And by command of Heaven’s all-powerful King,
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These adamantine gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
Fearless to be o’ermatched by living might.
But what owe I to his commands above,
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound, . . .
To sit in hateful office here confined,
Inhabitant of Heaven and Heavenly-born, 860
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamours compassed round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav’st me; whom should I obey
But thee? whom follow? Thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.” 870

Thus saying, from her side the fatal key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took; ^{he}
And, towards the gate rolling her bestial train
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up-drew,
Which but herself not all the Stygian powers
Could once have moved; then in the key-hole turns
The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of massy iron or solid rock with ease
Unfastens: On a sudden open fly,
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound, 880

The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus. She opened, but to shut
 Excelled her power; the gates wide open stood,
 That with extended wings a bannered host, *as the host*
 Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through
 With horse and chariots ranked in loose array;
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace-mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
 Before their eyes in sudden view appear 890
 The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension; where length, breadth, and highth,
 And time, and place, are lost; where eldest Night
 And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
 For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce,
 Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring
 Their embryon atoms; they around the flag
 Of each his faction, in their several clans,
 Light-armed or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift, or slow,
 Swarm populous, unnumbered as the sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring winds, and poise
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere
 He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns; next him, high arbiter,
 Chance governs all. Into this wild Abyss, 910
 The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
 Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
 But all these in their pregnant causes mixed

Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight
Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds—
Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith c
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less pealed
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,
With all her battering engines bent to rase
Some capital city; or less than if this frame
Of Heaven were falling, and these elements
In mutiny had from her axle torn
The steadfast Earth. At last his sail-broad vans
He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a league
As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides
Audacious; but, that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuity: all unawares,
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb-down he drops
Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
As many miles aloft; that fury stayed—
Quenched in a boggy Syrtis,^f neither sea,
Nor good dry land—nigh foundered, on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him² now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon³ through the wilderness
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined

The guarded gold : so eagerly the Fiend
 O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
 With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
 And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies. 950
 At length a universal hubbub wild
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confused,
 Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
 With loudest vehemence. Thither he plies
 Undaunted, to meet there whatever Power
 Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
 Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
 Bordering on light ; when straight behold the throne
 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread *far* 960
 Wide on the wasteful Deep ! With him enthroned
 Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
 The consort of his reign ; and by them stood
 Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
 Of Demogorgon ; Rumour next and Chance,
 And Tumult and Confusion all embroiled,
 And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

To whom Satan, turning boldly, thus : "Ye Powers
 And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,
 Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy, 970
 With purpose to explore or to disturb
 The secrets of your realm ; but, by constraint
 Wandering this darksome desert, as my way
 Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
 Alone and without guide, half lost, I seek,
 What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heaven ; or, if some other place,
 From your dominion won, the Ethereal King
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive

I travel this profound. Direct my course :
 Directed, no mean recompense it brings
 To your behoof, if I that region lost,
 All usurpation thence expelled, reduce
 To her original darkness and your sway
 (Which is my present journey), and once more
 Erect the standard there of ancient Night.
 Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge !”

980

Thus Satan ; and him thus the Anarch old,
 With faltering speech and visage incomposed,
 Answered : “ I know thee, stranger, who thou art, 990
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late
 Made head against Heaven’s King, though overthrown.
 I saw and heard ; for such a numerous host
 Fled not in silence through the frightened deep,
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded ; and Heaven-gates
 Poured out by millions her victorious bands,
 Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
 Keep residence ; if all I can will serve
 That little which is left so to defend, 1000
 Encroached on still through our intestine broils
 Weakening the sceptre of old Night : first Hell,
 Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath ;
 Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world
 Hung o’er my realm, linked in a golden chain
 To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell.
 If that way be your walk, you have not far ;
 So much the nearer danger. Go, and speed !
 Havoc, and spoil, and ruin, are my gain.”

He ceased ; and Satan stayed not to reply, 1010
 But, glad that now his sea should find a shore,
 With fresh alacrity and force renewed

Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire,
 Into the wild expanse, and through the shock
 Of fighting elements, on all sides round
 Environed, wins his way; harder beset
 And more endangered, than when Argo passed
 Through Bosphorus betwixt the justling rock:
 Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
 Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steered: 1020
 So he with difficulty and labour hard
 Moved on: with difficulty and labour he;
 But, he once passed, soon after, when Man fell,
 Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain,
 Following his track (such was the will of Heaven)
 Paved after him a broad and beaten way
 Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling gulf
 Tamely endured a bridge of wondrous length,
 From Hell continued, reaching the utmost orb
 Of this frail³ world; by which the Spirits perverse 1030
 With easy intercourse pass to and fro
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
 God and good Angels guard by special grace.
 But now at last the sacred influence *flowing in*
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
 Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
 A glimmering dawn. Here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge,² and Chaos to retire, *for the time*
 As from her outmost works, a broken foe,
 With tumult less and with less hostile din; 1040
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
 And, like a weather-beaten vessel, holds *the*
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air,

Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
Far off the empyreal Heaven, extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round,
With opal towers and battlements adorned
Of living sapphire, once his native seat;
And fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurst, and in a cursed hour, he hies.

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First printed in 2nd ed. 1674. I number the lines for convenience of reference.

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baldness of the original), 'who could believe that there would be any one who would conceive hopes of these things?' i.e. be so ambitious. But probably the author intended *futura* (or wrote *hoc*).

17—38. These lines, nearly half the poem, allude to bk. VI. of *P. L.*; see VI. 246—327, 634—669, 669, 670, 749—879.

30. *Currus animæ*, the Cherubic chariot (VI. 750—56).

39—42. Lauder placed these verses—ironically—on the title-page of his *Essay* (1750).

42. Alluding to the Homeric "Battle of the Frogs and Mice;" and the Vergilian (?) "Culex." Cf. Dryden's lines on Milton.

II. The English verses: the writer, 'A. M.,' was Andrew Marvell (1620—1678), poet and politician. In 1657 he had been made assistant secretary to Milton while the latter still held office under the Council. At the Restoration he did Milton good service—"acted vigorously in his behalf and made a considerable party for him" (says Phillips, *Memoir*). I think that Marvell's poetry shows signs of Milton's influence (see *Lyc.* p. 128, Pitt Press ed.). There are many variations of reading in some reprints of these verses.

9. *Samson Agonistes* had been published (1671).

11. *soon*. Todd (1809) *still*.

12. *success*, result, issue, see *P. L.* II. 9.

15. *he perplexed*. Todd *he'd perplex*.

21, 22. See 47, *infra*.

26. *pretend*, claim falsely.

31. *that majesty*. Keightley, Masson ('Globe' ed.) *the*.

37—40. See *P. L.* I. 13, 14. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* points out that "the bird" (39) meant is the bird of Paradise and that Marvell refers to the old notion, believed till the end of the last century, that it was footless: cf. "always keeps on wing."

42. *expense*. Pickering's ed., Keightley and others *expanse*.

43. See *P. L.* III. 33—36.

47—50. A sarcasm against Dryden, who, as the champion of rhymed plays, had under the name of 'Bayes' been satirised in Buckingham's *Rehearsal* (1671)—an attack which he repaid with interest in *Absalom and Achitophel*. Dryden (as we learn from Aubrey) on one of his visits to Milton asked permission to "put his *Paradise Lost* into a drama in rhyme. Mr Milton received him cordially, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses:" the outcome being his opera *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (see *Introduct.* p. xxiv.), published in 1674, the very year in which, apparently,

12. Scarcely pleasant reading for Dryden who had defended rhyme (see *Introduction*, p. lxii.), and whose rhymed dramas were appearing in quick succession. We have, I believe, a similar hit at him in the Preface to *S. A.* (see Pitt Press ed. pp. 60, 61). In the Preface to his Juvenal Dryden retorted that whatever might be Milton's "alleged" reasons for "the abolishing of rhyme," the real reason was "that rhyme was not his talent:" which we may accept—or not.

14, 15. See *Introduction*, p. lxvi.

20. Practically it was quite true that *Paradise Lost* was 'the first

great English poem, of a non-dramatic type, written in blank verse, though Surrey had used a rhymeless measure in his translation of the second (1557) and fourth (1548) books of the *Æneid*; cf. Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (1570), "The noble Lord Th' Earle of Surrey, first of all English men, in translating the fourth booke of Virgill...auoyded the fault of Ryming" (Bohn's ed. p. 217). There are also some blank verse pieces by Nicholas Grimald in Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557)—e.g. "The Death of Zoroas," Arber's ed. pp. 120—123, and "Ciceroes death," pp. 123—125. And Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* (1576) is "written without rime," as he notes in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" (Arber, p. 45). But these works, though interesting to the student, have no great intrinsic merit, and Milton's claim is substantially unimpeachable. The next long epic after *P. L.* in blank verse was Phillips's *Cider* (1706), an imitation of the *Georgics*; and Thomson (*Autumn*) in addressing Phillips says:

"the second thou

Who nobly durst in rhyme-unfettered verse

With British freedom sing the British song;"

an obvious allusion to Milton (whom Thomson imitates constantly) and this Preface.

BOOK I.

1—5. Like Homer and Vergil he indicates the theme of his poem at the outset. Cf. the beginning of *Par. Reg.* (with its allusions to these lines):

"I who erewhile the happy Garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recovered Paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foiled
In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
And Eden raised in the waste wilderness."

4. *one greater Man*, the Messiah; see *Rom.* v. 19.

6—16. The invocation of the Muse is an epic convention; like Dante and Tasso, M. follows therein Homer and Vergil. The significance lies in his choice of a power to be addressed: not one of the Nine Muses to whom a Greek or Roman poet would have appealed, but the Muse of sacred song, the Heavenly power which inspired Moses on

John ix. 7, 11; but Isaiah's words, of which M. may be waters of Shiloah that go softly," viii. 6—imply that the waters of the 'pool' overflowed into the garden below and so formed a 'streamlet,' which would find its way into the Kidron. Josephus notes the abundant water of Siloa (which he always calls a spring, πηγή), *Bellum Judaicum* v. 4. 1. The form *Siloa* illustrates Milton's dislike of *sh*; see note on 398. The Septuagint has Σιλωάμ, the Vulgate *Siloe*.

Why does M. specially refer to Siloa? The reason, I think, is this. The classical Muses (says Hesiod, *Theog.*) frequent "the dark-coloured spring (Aganippe)...and altar of Zeus"—κρήνην τοσθα...καὶ βωμὸν ἐπισθενέος Κρονίωνος. Imitating that passage in *Lyc.* 5, 16, M. addresses the Muses as "Sisters of the sacred well, That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring." (He connects the spring with the altar—cf. *Il Pen.* 48—to show the sanctity of poetic inspiration.) Here he takes Hesiod's

thought, which he before presented in its classical dress, and gives it a Scriptural investiture: the result being a complete parallel between the classical Muses who haunt the spring that rises by the altar of Zeus, and the Heavenly Muse who haunts the spring that flows by the Temple ("the oracle") of the Almighty.

12, 13. *fast by*, close by. Siloa was outside Jerusalem, in the valley that skirted Mt Moriah on which stood the Temple. *oracle*, "thy holy oracle," *Psalms* xxviii. 2.

14. The metaphor in "flight," "soar," is a favourite with M. Cf. VII. 3, 4, "above the Olympian hill I soar, Above the flight of Pegasean wing;" also III. 13, IX. 45. *no middle flight*, i.e. he will ascend to the highest Empyrean.

14, 15. He hopes to be filled with a higher inspiration, so as to treat of higher things, than the classical poets whose inspiration came from the Muses of antiquity. *The Aonian mount*, Helicon, in Bœotia; sacred to the Muses—whence their title *Aonides*. Pope calls them "Aonian maids" (*Messiah*), and Campbell, "Aonian Muses" (*Pleasures of Hope*).

15. *pursues*, treats of; "in the sense of the Latin *sequor*. *E noto fictum carmen sequar*, Horace, *Ars Poetica* 240" (Keightley).

16. This claim to novelty of theme recalls *Comus*, 44, 45:

"I will tell you now

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i.e. "in prose or rhyme" (a phrase of Ariosto). Similar claims might be instanced in Vergil, Spenser, and other poets, e.g. Horace's *carmina non prius | audita...canto* (*Od.* III. 2—4). *rhyme*, verse; see G.

17—26. Cf. similar invocation of the Holy Spirit *P. R.* I. 8—17: a higher power than the Muse addressed above. "There can be little doubt that Milton believed himself to be, in some real sense, an inspired man" (Masson). In *Church Gov.* he says that a great poem can only be achieved through "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge" (*P. W.* II. 481); and in *Christian Doct.* VI. he explains that he means by the Spirit "that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired."

19, 20. *for thou know'st*. Cf. Homer, *Il.* II. 484, ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι... | ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεὰ ἐστε, πάρεστε τε, ἴστε τε πάντα; and Theocritus, XXII. 116, εἰπὲ θεὰ, σὺ γὰρ ὄλσθα.

20, 21. Cf. account of the Creation VII. 234, 235, "on the watery calm His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread." In *Gen.* i. 2 the Heb. verb rendered "moved" in A. V. (*ferebatur* in Vulgate) means

either 'fluttered' (Luther has *schwebete*), as in *Deut.* xxxii. 11, where it is used of an eagle hovering; or 'brooded' (*incubabat* in Basil and others of the Latin Fathers) like a bird hatching eggs. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio*, xxxii., "This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world."

21. *dove-like*. The allusion, I believe, is to the descent of the Holy Ghost "in a bodily shape like a dove" at the baptism of our Lord (*Luke* iii. 22); cf. *P. R.* I. 30, 83. This I infer from a passage in Milton's theological treatise, *Christian Doctrine* vi.

Abyss, Chaos; see G.

24. *argument*, subject=Lat. *argumentum*; cf. IX. 28.

25. *assert*, vindicate; cf. Pope, "Sedition silence, and assert the throne."

26. Cf. *S. A.* 293, 294, "Just are the ways of God, And justifiable to men"—the Scriptural reference being to passages like *Ps.* cxlv. 17 and *Rev.* xv. 3, "just and true are thy ways." Pope professed the same design; cf. the *Essay on Man* I. 15, 16:

"Laugh where we must, be candid where we can,
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to men, i.e. "justify" to men.

29. *grand*, i.e. first, original—cf. "grandfather."

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33. *Iliad* i. 8.

35. See *Appen.* pp. 146, 147, on "Satan's motives etc."

36. *what time*, at the time when, Lat. *quo tempore*. "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee," *Ps.* lvi. 3. So *Com.* 291, *Lyc.* 28.

39. *peers*, equals, Lat. *pares*, cf. *Lyc.* 9; so *peer-less*, unequalled.

40. See *Isaiah* xiv. 12—14.

45, 46. *flaming*; cf. *Luke* x. 18, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." *the ethereal sky*, the Empyrean; see *Appen.* pp. 135,

136. *combustion*; see G.

48. *in chains*. Cf. 2 *Pet.* ii. 4, "if God spared not the angels...but ...delivered them into chains of darkness" (see l. 72); also *Jude* 6, *Rev.* xx. 1, 2. Same allusion ii. 169, 183, 196, iii. 82.

50. *nine*, traditionally a significant number, being a multiple of three (see 619). Their fall from Heaven lasted nine days (vi. 871), as did that of the Titans in Hesiod (*Theogony* 722).

55. *pain*, physical suffering. Cf. 125, 147, 336: the point is

emphasised by Milton (and entirely lost if we misinterpret "pain" = punishment). Later, M. shows how the fallen angels first became sensible of pain through their sin (see VI. 327, note).

56, 57. *baleful*, full of woe, see G. *witnessed*, showed, testified to.

58. Scan *obdurate*, as always in M.; cf. VI. 790.

59. Second Ed. has "Angels kenn." Throughout the volume the apostrophe indicative of the genitive was omitted (as often happened then): hence 'Angels' may have stood for 'Angel's' or 'Angels' (cf. 754 and the common misreading, caused by this ambiguity, XII. 229, note). Some modern texts print "Angel's ken," making "ken" a noun. But M. uses "ken" as a verb V. 265, XI. 396, and I prefer to take it so here—with the sense, 'as far as angels see.' Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 2. 101, "As far as I could ken thy chalky cliffs."

63. *no light*, i.e. there *was*. It was a popular belief that the flames of Hell gave no light (Keightley). *darkness visible*, an obvious oxymoron (see 692). What M. means is—not absolute darkness ('pitch darkness,' as we say), for then the "sights of woe" would have been invisible—but the gloom which half conceals and half reveals objects, and itself (to borrow Pope's words) "strikes the sense no less than light." Mr Beeching aptly reminds us of *Job* x. 22.

66, 67. Doubtless from Eurip. *Troades*, 676, οὐδ' ὁ πᾶσι λείπεται βροτοῖς | ξύνεστιν ἐλπίς ('even hope, which remains to all mortals, is not here'). Probably too there is an echo of Dante's famous words—"All hope abandon, ye who enter here"—placed over the gates of hell, *Inferno* III. 9.

68. *urges*, afflicts, plies—Lat. *urgere*; cf. "exercise," II. 89.

70. Cf. VI. 738, and see *Appen.* p. 138.

72. *utter darkness*; again III. 16, V. 614. *utter*=outer, see G.

73. Cf. V. 613, "Cast out from God and blessed vision."

74, 75. He makes the distance of Hell from the Empyrean=three times the distance of the Earth ("the centre") from the "utmost pole" of the globe or Universe (i.e. that point in the surface of the globe which is nearest to the Empyrean). The calculation is suggested by *Iliad* VIII. 16, *Æn.* VI. 578.

79—81. Beëlzebub is called Satan's "next subordinate" V. 671; see II. 299, note.

81, 82. *Satan*= 'adversary:' a name first given to him when he rebelled: his "former name" being thenceforth heard no more (V. 658, 659). It is not, I think, clear whether this "former name" was "Lucifer" (cf. VII. 131—3), or some other title which, like the titles of the other

rebels, was utterly blotted out (cf. ll. 361—363, note, vi. 376—380). I believe, however, that M. means us to understand that both "Lucifer" and "Satan" were later names, given after the rebellion.

84, 85. *beest*, see G. There is a double allusion—to *Isai.* xiv. 12, "how art thou fallen," and *Æn.* II. 274, *quantum mutatus ab illo | Ilectore qui redit*.

86. *didst*; grammar requires *did*: the sense implies 'thou.'

87—90. Cf. v. 676—678, where Satan says to Beëlzebub that they had ever been wont to share each other's thoughts and "were one." To Beëlzebub he first hinted his purpose to rebel (v. 673).

87. *if he*, i.e. if *thou beest* (from 84) he; the sentence is not completed (the figure of speech called *anacoluthon*). M. often uses this abrupt style to suggest the speaker's agitation; cf. v. 30 *et seq.*

91, 92. *into what...from what*; cf. v. 543, "O fall From what high state of bliss into what woe;" and *P. R.* II. 30, 31. An imitation perhaps of Gk. *oîos...oîos*—as in *Soph. Trach.* 994, *oîan ânô' oîkon θυμάτων χάριν*, 'what a return (i.e. how poor) for what sacrifices' (i.e. how great); and *Elect.* 751, *oî' êrga ôrâsas oîa λαγχάνει κακά*.

93. *his thunder*. Cf. account of the battle III. 393, vi. 836.

94. *for*, because of. Satan's defiant spirit recalls the stubborn attitude of Prometheus towards Zeus in Æschylus' play.

97. *fixed mind*; cf. *II Pen.* 4, Spenser *F. Q.* IV. 7. 16, "Yet nothing could my fixed mind remove" (change). *fixed*, steadfast.

98. *high disdain*. A common phrase with 'our old poets'—Spenser (cf. *F. Q.* I. 1. 19), Sylvester and others; taken from the *allogno* of Italian writers (Todd).

from sense of, i.e. disdain springing from a feeling of.

104. *dubious*, because the battle lasted for three days (bk. vi.).

105. *shook his throne*. A boastful exaggeration; see vi. 833, 834. *field*, battle (II. 768); so Lat. *campus*. The Second Ed. has the note of interrogation at the end of the line.

107. *study*, pursuit of; 'study,' like Lat. *studium*, often meant 'endeavour;' cf. *Lear* I. 1. 279, "let your study be to content your lord," and XI. 577.

108—111. The Second Ed. has at the end of 108 a colon; of 109 a note of interrogation; and in 111 a full stop after *me*. This punctuation, variously altered in many texts, I retain. Some editors remove the interrogation in 109, treating the line as a relative clause, as though Satan said: 'I retain my will (106), my hate (107), my courage (108), and all other qualities in me that cannot be overcome.' This gives

good sense—but not Milton's. The line is interrogative, and Satan asks: 'to retain one's hate, one's courage etc., is not that to be still unsubdued: in what else but this lies the test of being not overcome?' In one of the last of Tonson's editions (1738), being the fifteenth (of a poem which some assure us was "not appreciated"), I find the line bracketed, i.e. treated as a parenthesis—as it really is.

109. *what...else*; to be taken together; cf. 683.

110. Regarding 109 as parenthetical, I take "that glory" to refer back to 108: 'never' (says Satan) 'shall the Victor extort from me the glory—to him—of my submission.' Some explain—'the glory (i.e. Satan's) of not being overcome;' but does this suit "extort"?

114. *doubted his empire*. Again an exaggeration.

115. Scan *ignomy*; see II. 207, note. *beneath*, worse than.

116. *by fate*; important because Satan denies (v. 860—63) that the angels were created by the Almighty: we were, he says, self-begotten "By our own quickening power, when *fatal course* Had circled his full orb" (i.e. at the time decreed by the course of fate). Fate, not the Almighty, he recognizes as superior. *gods*=divine beings.

117. Can the fiery substance (see II. 139—42, 274, 275, notes) of their forms perish ("fail")? Satan thinks not: Moloch and Belial are less certain (II. 99, 146—154). *empyreal*; see G.

120. *successful hope*, hope of success; so in Shak. often. Cf. "sterile curse"=curse of sterility, *Julius C.* I. 2. 9; "fruitful prognostication"=prognostication of fruitfulness, *Antony*, I. 2. 53.

122. *grand*, great (like F. *grand*); cf. II. 507.

123. *triumphs*; scan as a trochee, *triumphs*.

124. *tyranny*. M. makes him use the most offensive word—not "monarchy," as in 42, where the poet was speaking in his own person. See II. 59, note.

128. *throned powers*; Satan's followers in general ("throned"—cf. 360—merely suggesting their dignity): not the particular Order of the Hierarchies called Thrones (737, note), since M. makes Satan belong to the Order of Archangels.

130. *conduct*, command, as of a general.

138. See 117, note. *essences*, see 425.

139. *remains*; singular, because "mind and spirit" form one idea—a common usage in Shak.; cf. *Troilus*, IV. 5. 170, "faith and troth bids them." See *Lycidas*, 7.

141. *though...glory extinct*. Cf. 394, "though...cries unheard," and *S. A.* 738. I think that these are absolute constructions, modelled

perhaps on the Lat. ablative absolute; but there may be an ellipse of the auxiliary verb. *extinct*, quenched (like a flame).

144. *of force*, perforce; so IV. 813.

148. *suffice*, satisfy = Lat. *sufficere*.

149—152. "They (evil angels) are sometimes permitted to wander through the whole earth, the *air* (cf. 430), the heaven itself, to execute the judgments of God," *Christian Doct.* IX. *thralls*, slaves; see *enthrall* in G.

152. *gloomy deep*, Chaos.

155, 156. *to undergo*, i.e. so as to undergo (not dependent on 'avail,' 153). *fiend*, 'one who hates,' from A. S. *fēon*, to hate.

157, 158. *Cherub*; see G. *Doing or suffering*, i.e. whether in an active or passive state; cf. the common antithesis *δρᾶν...παθεῖν*; see II. 199.

167. *if I fail not*, if I am not mistaken, Lat. *ni fallor*.

170. *his ministers*, the good angels; really they had no share in the expulsion of the rebels, which was due to the Messiah, "sole victor" (VI. 880); Satan, one of the outcast, did not know this.

171—177. See VI. 858—79. *laid*, i.e. to rest, stilled; cf. *P. R.* IV. 429, and Tennyson, *Margaret*, "Your spirit is the calmed sea, Laid by the tumult of the fight," and *Queen Mary*, I. 5, "God lay the waves and strow the storms at sea." So *sternere* (*Æn.* V. 763) and *ponere* in Lat.; cf. *ponere freta*, Horace, *Od.* I. 3. 15.

176. *his=its* (see G.); or he may be personifying "thunder."

178, 179. *slip*, let slip; cf. *Macbeth*, II. 3. 52, "I have almost slipped the hour." *satiate*; see G.

185. *harbour*, dwell; cf. V. 99.

186. *afflicted* = Lat. *afflictus*, struck down. *powers*, forces.

187. *offend* = Lat. *offendere*, to strike at, harm; cf. VI. 465.

191. Cf. VI. 787, "hope conceiving from despair." *if not*, i.e. if we may not gain reinforcement.

193. *uplift*, uplifted.

197. *as whom*, as those whom. *fables*, the mythological stories of the classics; M. generally speaks of them contemptuously as "fabulous."

198. *Earth-born*, the Giants; like the Titans (with whom writers confused them much) they were reputed the offspring of Uranus and Ge (Earth); see 509, note, and 778. *that warred* refers to the Giants only; the legend of their conflict with Zeus (or Jove) seems to be due to the earlier revolt of the Titans against Uranus.

199. *Briareos or Typhon*; the former (*centumgeminus Briareus*, *Æn.* VI. 287), being the son of Uranus, is meant to represent the Titans

—the latter, the Giants. The legends about both were conflicting. Scan *Briðreos*, though classically the name is *Brüðreus*.

or *Typhon*. For the comparison see Fairfax, II. 91, "He looked like huge Tiphonius loos'd from hell." Typhon, or Typhæus, is commonly described as a hundred-headed monster, who, trying to seize sovereignty over gods and men, was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt.

200. *Tarsus*, the capital of Cilicia; M. alludes here to Pindar and Æschylus who describe Typhon as living in "a Cilician den;" cf. Æsch. *P. V.* 351, τὸν γηγενῆ τε Κιλικίων οικήτορα | ἀντρων... Τυφῶνα ('the earth-born inhabitant of Cilician dens'), where Æsch. seems to be quoting Pindar, *Pyth.* I. 17, [Typhon] τὸν ποτε | Κιλικιον θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον. So *Pyth.* 8. 16, Τυφῶς Κίλιξ. See II. 539, *Nat. Ode*, 226 ("Typhon huge ending in snaky twine").

201. The Bibles of that time identified the Leviathan with the whale, and M. probably did so; but the Heb. *livyāthān* was used of any huge monster, e.g. the crocodile, *Psalms* lxxiv. 14.

202. *ocean-stream*; Homer's ῥόος (or ποταμός) ὠκεάνοιο.

203—208. Todd quotes a story to this effect from the Swedish writer Olaus Magnus, whose *History of the Northern Nations* had been Englished (1658). Evidently some remarkable 'traveller's tales' as to the size of whales were in circulation: Heylin, *Cosmography* (1682 ed.) tells us of 'Leviathans' four acres big (III. 191, 192). Cf. Milton's own description VII. 412—415:

"there leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
Stretched like a promontory, sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land."

204. *pilot*, steersman, cf. *S. A.* 198; or master of the vessel. *night-foundered*, benighted—lit. 'plunged or sunk in night' (and so unable to continue his course). Cf. *Comus*, 483; see *funder* in G.

206. i.e. with *anchor fixed* in his rind. Such inversions of the order of words are common in Shakespeare; cf. *Richard II.* III. 1. 9. As a matter of natural history, whales have not "scaly rinds"; but M. alludes to *Job* xli. 15 (where, however, the crocodile is meant).

207, 208. *the lee*, the sheltered side. *invests*, wraps, Lat. *investit*.

211. *heaved*, lifted; cf. Germ. *heben*. To "heave the head" occurs in *S. A.* 197, *Comus*, 885, *L'Allegro*, 145; Dryden borrowed it (*St Cecilia's Day*).

213. *at large*, free to carry out his designs.

221. *rears*, raises, as often in Spenser and Shakespeare.

223. *spires*, tongues or columns of flame.

226. *incumbent*; in the literal sense 'leaning, resting, on' (Lat. *incumbens*).

230—33. This notion of earthquakes being caused by escape of winds from underground recurs in VI. 195—98, *S. A.* 1647, 1648.

232. *Pelorus*, the north-east promontory of Sicily, now Cape Faro; near Ætna, by whose volcanic action M. implies that it was affected.

233—36. Editors compare *Æneid* III. 571—577.

233. *whose*. The antecedent is Pelorus as well as Ætna, the description that follows being applied as much to the one as the other.

234. *fuelled*, serving as fuel, or 'rich in fuel.'

235. *sublimed*; see G.

236. *involved*, wrapped in (Lat. *involvere*).

239. *scaped*; see G. *Stygian flood*, the "fiery gulf" (52).

242. In M. and Shak. *clime* means (1) climate, temperature—so probably here and at 297; (2) region, realm—cf. II. 572 and *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 1. 10, "The best-regarded virgins of our clime."

244—46. *change for*, take in exchange for. *souvan*; see G.

248. i.e. they were his equals in reason, but not in power.

253. Cf. Horace's *calum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt* (*Epist.* 1. 2. 27).

254. *its*, see G.

255. A reminiscence, I suppose, of *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 243, "I'll follow thee and make a hell of heaven." Hartley Coleridge says, "One sinful wish would make a hell of heaven." For this conception of Hell as not a place, but a mental state, of punishment, see IV. 20—23. Sir Thomas Browne writes, *Religio Med.* LI., "every devil is an hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*." In Marlowe's *Faustus*, when the Doctor asks "Where is the place that men call hell?", Mephistophiles replies, "Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed In one self place; for where we (evil spirits) are is hell" (V. 119, 120—see Dr Ward's ed. p. 157).

257. *all but less than* = nearly equal to. The phrase is a combination of 'only less than' and 'all but equal to' (Beeching).

259. i.e. in building Hell the Almighty has created a place such that he could never grudge Satan its possession.

261—263. When William Lauder published in 1750 his infamous *Essay on Milton*, the object of which was to show that the poet had 'plagiarised' from a number of obscure writers (mostly foreign scholars

of the 16th and 17th cents.), he took these three lines, translated them into what he conceived to be Iambic verse, said that he had found them in the *Adamus Exul* (1601) of Grotius, and printed them as a convincing proof of Milton's dishonesty. His version runs—or limps—thus: *nam, me iudice, | regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro; | alto præesse Tartaro siquidem (sic) iuvat, | cælis quam in.ipsis servi obire munia.* In 1752 he reprinted the *Adamus* in his *Delectus*, but did not venture to interpolate his forgery. The mischief, however, had been done; for Bishop Newton, being completely deceived, printed the lines in his notes on this passage as genuine, and remarked that M. had evidently 'translated' them from Grotius. Of course the fraud was eventually exposed; none the less, the lines still find their way periodically from the Bishop's notes into modern editions. For him it may be said that he had no reason to suspect Lauder, and probably no opportunity of consulting the *Adamus*, a very scarce work, of which the British Museum has a single original copy.

263. Probably the germ of this famous line (varied VI. 183) is Homer, *Od.* XI. 488, where Achilles (in Hades) says that he would rather serve on earth as a poor man's slave, than reign over all the dead. Fletcher says of the fallen angels, "In Heaven they scorn'd to serve, so now in Hell they reign" (*Purple Island* VII. 10).

266. Cf. "forgetful lake," II. 74. *astonished, oblivious*, see G.

268. *mansion*, dwelling-place, abode (Lat. *manere*, to remain).

276, 277. "On the rough edge of battle ere it joined," VI. 108. Cf. Lat. *acies*, the front line of a fight.

281. *amazed*, utterly confounded; a far stronger word than now. *astound*=*astonish*

282. *pernicious*, destructive, ruinous; some, however, explain it 'great,' 'excessive.'

284. *his shield*, described again VI. 254—56.

285. *temper*=a thing tempered (cf. II. 813): abstract for concrete.

288. *optic glass*; apparently not an uncommon phrase for the telescope; I find it in Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory on Earth* 60, "all her optique glasses shattered," and in Henry More, *Song of the Soul*, "The Opticke glasse has shown to sight The dissolution of these starrie crouds" (p. 212, Cambridge ed. 1647). Cf. "optic tube," III. 590 (borrowed by Thomson, *Autumn*). Galileo did not invent the telescope, but he developed it: hence it is generally associated with his name; cf. Bacon, "those glasses (*illa perspicilla*) discovered by the memorable efforts of Galileo," *Novum Organon* XXXIX.

A *Tuscan* by birth, Galileo (cf. v. 262, note) passed the latter part of his life in, or near, Florence. M. saw him (1638—9); cf. *Arcopagitica*: "There (in Italy) it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought," *P. W.* II. 82. Near the Villa d' Arcetri where Galileo then lived, "an old tower is still pointed out as having once been his observatory" (Masson).

289, 290. There is true pathos in the mention, here and II. 302—304, of Italian scenes. M. is revisiting in memory places associated with what was, perhaps, the happiest period of his whole life—his stay in Italy (see *Life*): "times when...I tasted bliss without alloy" (as he wrote in 1647, *Letter*). He always spoke of Italy with deepest affection: especially of Florence which he loved for its language (*Letter*, 1638), "its genius and taste" (*Second Defence*), and the friends whom he should ever remember with pleasure (*vestri nunquam meminisse pigebit—Epitaphium Damonis* 125).

Fesolè, classical *Fasulæ*; a hill about three miles north-east of Florence. *Valdarno*, the valley of the river Arno, in which Florence lies. Here (290) M. has in mind Galileo's later residence at the Villa d'Arcetri, on the left bank of the Arno, i.e. west of the main part of the city. There is a passage in one of Milton's *Letters* from Florence, in which he speaks of his delight in "visiting the stream of the Arno, and the hills of Fæsolæ" (modern Italian form *Fiesole*).

291. Cf. v. 261—263. Apparently M. knew that the 'spots' in the moon are unevennesses on its surface caused by mountains and valleys, though in v. 420 (see note) he attributes them to 'vapours.'

292, 293. *his spear...the mast*. I find the comparison twice in Fairfax, *Tasso*; cf. III. 17, "Mast-great the spear was which the gallant bore," and VI. 39, "These sons of Mars bore (instead of spears) Two knotty masts, which none but they could lift."

293. *Norwegian hills*. Norway, of course, was a great timber-emporium: thence, writes Hexham's *Mercator* (1636), "the high *masts* for shipping, the planks and boords of Oak and *firre trees* [cf. 292, "tallest *pine*"] are sent yeerely in great abundance into Germanie, Holland, France, *England*, Spayne, and other places" (l. 93). And Jonson says that the appearance of the tall-masted vessels of the Armada was as if "half of Norway with her fir trees came," *Prince Henry's Barriers*. 294. *ammiral*, see G.

296. *marle*, soil; more correctly used of rich, moist earth.

those, i.e. the well-known, famous (Lat. *illī*).

298. Cf. VI. 214, "And flying vaulted either host with fire" (said of fiery darts), with *P. R. I.* 116, "Hell's deep-vaulted den."

299. *nathless*=not the less: A. S. *nað*=not.

302. The comparison of a multitude to fallen autumnal leaves is found in Homer, Vergil, Dante, and other epic poets. Cf. Dryden (who has obviously recollected this passage), "Thick as the leaves in autumn strew the woods...the army stands," *Æn.* VI. 428. Note that M. was himself at Florence in the autumn (September, 1638).

303, 304. See 289, note. *Vallombrosa*, 'Shady Valley;' about 18 miles from Florence. The name is applied not only to the valley itself, but to the wood-covered hill rising therefrom. On this hill stands a monastery (now disused) where M. was said to have spent some days (a tradition of which Wordsworth makes effective use in his "At Vallombrosa"), and in the chapel an organ used to be shown as that on which M. played—*Notes and Queries*, V. v. 306. The reference to the fallen leaves is appropriate, since the approach to the convent was through forests of chestnut and beech trees, deciduous species. Dean Stanley wrote, "inasmuch as the whole mountain is furrowed with streams, which gave to the place its original name of *Bellacqua*, the leaves constantly falling on these streams, and almost choking their currents, give the exact picture" painted by M.: "an instance" (he added) "of the tenacity of Milton's memory in retaining, through all the vicissitudes of civil war, age, and blindness, the precise recollection of what he had seen in early youth"—*Notes and Queries*, V. XI. 488, 489.

embower, form as it were bowers.

304. *sedge*; "in allusion to the Hebrew name of the Red Sea, Yâm Sûf, i.e. Sea of Sedge, on account of the quantity of seaweed in it" (Keightley). As the angels are afloat on waves (of fire), the simile is in the highest degree appropriate.

305. The rising of the constellation Orion (at midsummer) and his setting (at the beginning of November) being attended with storms, the name became proverbial of rain and "fierce winds." Cf. Verg. *Æn.* I. 535, *nimbosus Orion*, IV. 52, *aquosus Orion*; and Grotius, *Adamus Exul*—*illic procellis tumidus Orion furit*. So Marlowe, *Faustus*, III. 2, "Orion's drizzling look;" Drummond, *Entertainment*, "That no Orion do with storms them blast;" and Heywood's *Hierarchy*, "Orion... riseth in the winter season, disturbing both earth and sea with showres and tempests" (ed. 1635, p. 177).

armed; from Verg. *Æn.* III. 517, *armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*. "After his death, Orion [the great hunter] was placed among

the Stars where he appears as a giant with a girdle, sword...and club" (*Class. Dict.*): hence armed.

306—11. *Exodus* xiv. 5—29. See again XII. 206—210.

vexed; in the sense ('to disturb violently, to buffet') of Lat. *vexare*, as applied to a storm, e.g. in Horace, *Odes* II. 9. 3.

307. Late Greek writers (cf. the xth *Oration* of Isocrates) speak of an Egyptian king Busiris, unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and not mentioned in Egyptian records. Some describe him as builder of Thebes. Legend said that he was slain by Hercules—an event depicted often on vases. Why M. identifies him with the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, no one has ever explained. Some editors say that M. 'follows' Raleigh's *History*—which is not so: for Raleigh expressly states that Busiris was "the first oppressor of the Israelites" (p. 204), and that after *two* intervening reigns came "Cenchres, drowned in the Red Sea" (p. 197, 1621 ed.). Cf. again p. 218, "through which (i.e. Red Sea) Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Cenchres, perished." Either M. follows some unknown authority, or he treats 'Busiris' as a general title for the rulers of Egypt, like 'Pharaoh.'

Memphian=Egyptian; so in 694; I note the same use in Sylvester; cf. "The *Memphian* Sages then, and subtile Priests," where the margin has, "The Magicians of Egypt" (Grosart's ed. 1. 187). He calls the Egyptians variously "Memphites," "Memphists," and "Memphians." Memphis was the ancient capital (before Thebes) of Egypt; founded by Menes (1st monarch of 1st dynasty), and called—by the Egyptians *Men nefer*, 'the good station,' from its position at the apex of the Delta—by the Arabs *Memf*, whence European form of the name.

chivalry, forces, as *P. R.* III. 344. In neither place need we limit it to 'cavalry' (with which 'chivalry' is etymologically identical).

308. *perfidious*; he had given the Israelites leave to go.

309. "Israel dwelt...in the country of Goshen," *Gen.* xlvii. 27. *in Egypt*

312. *abject*, cast down; see G.

313. *Under amazement of*, utterly confounded by.

317. *if*; the clause qualifies "lost." *astonishment*, see G.

320. *virtue*, valour, Lat. *virtus*.

321. *vales of Heaven*, see *Appen.* p. 136. In v. 642—55 he describes the angels sleeping in Heaven, "among the trees of life."

329. *Transfix*, pierce through and fasten to; cf. II. 181.

335. *nor did they not*, i.e. and they did—Lat. *neque non*.

337. For "obey to" (Fr. *obéir à*), cf. Greene, *Friar Bacon*, IX. 142, "I charge thee to obey to Vandermast," Shak. *Troilus*, III. 1. 165, and

The Phoenix, 4, "To whose sound chaste wings obey." There is a single instance in the Bible—*Romans* vi. 16.

✓338—43. *Exod.* x. 12—15. See the account of the ten Plagues in XII. 185, 186. *Amram's son*, Moses; see *Exod.* vi. 20.

340. *pitchy*, dark as pitch; cf. 1 *Henry VI.* II. 2. 1, 2:

"The day begins to break, and night is fled,
Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth."

341. *warping*, undulating forward; see G.

345. *cope*, roof, covering, cf. IV. 992; akin to *cap*, *cape*.

347, 348. *spear...waving*; absolute use. *Sultan*, see G.

351—55. Alluding to invasions of Italy and Roman empire by Goths (as early as 248 A.D.); Huns, notably under Attila, who was finally defeated at Chalons-sur-Marne, 451; and Vandals. Genseric, or Gaiseric, leader of the Vandals, crossed from Spain into Numidia, 428, captured Carthage, 439, and built up an empire in Africa.

Observe the effectiveness of the three similes whereby M. conveys an impression of the numbers of the angels. They are compared—resting on the water, to fallen leaves (or floating sea-weed): flying, to a cloud of locusts that "darkens" the land (*Exod.* x. 15): alighted, to a vast host that throngs a plain. Each aspect has its proper simile.

351. *a multitude*, see II. 692, note.

353. *Rhene*, from Lat. *Rhenus*=Rhine, and *Danaw* or *Donau*, Germ. form of Danube, were current forms in 17th cent.; I find them in Heylin's *Cosmography* (1682 ed.) and Hexham's *Mercator* (1636), perhaps the two most popular geographical works of the time. So "Rhenish wine"=Rhine wine, *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 2. 104, *Hamlet*, I. 4. 10.

355. *beneath*, south of; alluding to the Vandals.

356. *every...each*. A favourite variation with Milton; cf. *Comus*, 19, "Of every salt flood and each ebbing stream," and 311, "I know each lane and every alley green." Etymologically *ever-y*=*ever-each*.

360. See 128.

361—75. Again in VI. 379, 380, he tells us that the original names of the apostate angels were "Cancelled from Heaven and sacred memory." How then to describe them? He must give them *some* titles. So he adopts (see *Appen.* pp. 148—150) the view that they became the gods of heathenism, oriental and classical, and here, by anticipation, uses those "new names" (365) which later ages assigned to them.

363. Bentley thought that M. dictated *Book* (which some modern texts print); cf. *Rev.* iii. 5. A passage in *Christian Doct.* IV. seems to

me to make this probable—"mention is frequently made of those who are written among the living and of the book of life, but never of the book of death."

370, 371. See *Romans* i. 23.

372. *religions*, religious rites. *full of pomp*; M. often expresses dislike of ceremony and ritual in worship (see XII. 534).

376. *who first, who last*; *τινα πρῶτον, τινα δ' ὕστατον*, *Iliad* v. 703. The long list of the deities is intended as a counterpart to Homer's catalogue of the ships and Vergil's list of warriors (Addison).

381. Those who led astray "the chosen people" come first.

382—91. Texts probably glanced at are: 1 *Pet.* v. 8; *Ezek.* vii. 20, xliii. 8; *Exod.* xxv. 22; 2 *Kings* xix. 15. For the setting up of altars to heathen gods *inside* the Temple, see Manasseh's reign, 2 *Kings* xxi.

386. *thundering*; "perhaps taken from *Exodus* xx, where Jehovah thunders the Ten Commandments from Sinai" (Beeching).

386, 387. *throned between*. The reference is to the golden images of Cherubim, with expanded wings, placed over the mercy-seat covering the ark in the Tabernacle. Cf. *Psalms* lxxx. 1.

389. *abominations*, the regular Bible word for idolatrous worship.

391. *affront*; commonly taken here in its primary sense 'to confront,' 'face' (Lat. *ad+frons*)—cf. *Hamlet*, III. i. 31; but IX. 328 and *P. R.* III. 161 make the ordinary sense—"to insult"—more likely.

392. *Moloch*. God of the Sun as a destroying power; "the abomination of the children of Ammon," 1 *Kings* xi. 7; worshipped with human sacrifices, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10, *Ps.* cvi. 37, 38. The name, better written 'Molech' (as by Sandys), means 'King' (cf. *Amos* v. 26, margin), and M. generally adds "King" (cf. II. 43, VI. 357). With these lines, 392—96, cf. *Nat. Ode*, 205—210.

394, 395. *though...cries unheard*. See 141, note.

396. Sandys, whose *Relation* of his travels in Palestine was certainly known to Milton, gives, no doubt, the picture of the idol handed down by Jewish tradition, and describes it as "of brass, having the head of a Calve, the rest of a kingly figure, with armes extended to receive the miserable sacrifice, seared to death with his burning embracements. For the Idol was hollow within, filled with fire. And least their lamentable shrieks should sad the hearts of their parents. the Priests of Molech did deafe their eares with the continual clang of trumpets and timbrels," *Relation*, p. 186. This sacrifice of children by fire was due to the notion that the fierce summer heat of the god would be allayed thereby (Sayce).

396—99. *Rabba*, capital of Ammonites—"the city of waters," 2 Sam. xii. 27: *Argob*, district of mountain range of *Bashan*: *Arnon*, boundary river between Moab and Amorites: all E. of Jordan. Part of this territory (as Keightley notes) belonged to—not the Ammonites, spite of their claim (*Judg.* xi. 13)—but the Amorites. As we look, however, at a map of Palestine we must recollect that M. could not do so.

398. *Basan*; the form used in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Prayer-Book. M. always avoids *sh*; cf. 'Hesebon' 408, 'Chemos' 406, 'Sittim' 413, 'Beërsaba' = Beersheba, III. 536, 'Silo' = Shilo, S. A. 1674. It will generally be found that he has the authority of either the Septuagint or Vulgate (or both) for his Scriptural proper names, where they differ in form from the Authorised Version.

401—403. Solomon, persuaded by his wives (cf. 444—46), built "high places" to Moloch, Chemos and Astarte on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings xi. 5—7)—thence called the "Mount of Corruption" (2 Kings xxiii. 13), and later, the "Mount of Offence." These titles M. glances at here (403), and in 416, 443.

401. *by fraud*, by deceit.

402. *His temple*, i.e. of Moloch.

Baal-Peor (412).

obscene, foul; referring to the character of the rites with which he was worshipped. *dread*, i.e. object of dread.

407—11. Roughly speaking, all the places here mentioned (of which the sites are known) lay in the territory assigned (*Numb.* xxxii.) to the tribe of Reuben—a region fringing east shore of the Dead Sea, bounded

404. The valley of Hinnom, lying S. and S.W. of Jerusalem, skirted the southern part of Olivet. Having been the scene of rites paid to Moloch, it was "defiled" (cf. l. 418) by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and made the common refuse-place of Jerusalem. Previously it formed part of royal gardens; Sandys says, "We descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth the Mount Sion from the Mountaine of Offence... This valley is but streight (i.e. narrow); heretofore most delightful, planted with *groves*, and watered with fountains," *Relation*, p. 186. The 'grove' of Hinnom is not directly mentioned in Scripture: did M. take the idea from Sandys?

405. *Gehenna*, hell, Gk. form of *Ge Hinnom*, 'Valley of Hinnom.'

406. "Moloch and Chemos ('the abomination of Moab') are joined, 1 Kings xi. 7. And it was a natural transition from the god of the Ammonites to the god of their neighbours the Moabites" (Newton). Chemos (really the same deity as Moloch) was often identified with

S. by river Arnon, N. by Mt Nebo. It had belonged to the Moabites till it was won from them by the Amorites (*Numb.* xxi. 26).

407. *from Aroer to Nebo*, i.e. from S. to N. of the region—*Aroer* being a small town on the bank of the Arnon; cf. Tennyson, *Dream of Fair Women*, "from Aroer on Arnon unto Minneth." *Nebo*, the mountain (forming part of the range of *Abarim*) from whose summit, Pisgah, Moses saw the Promised Land (*Deut.* xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1).

408. *Hesebon*, "the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites," *Numb.* xxi. 26. For 'Hesebon,' not 'Heshbon,' see on 398.

410. The germ of the line lies in *Isai.* xvi. 8, "the vine of Sibmah" (and verse 9). "Several rock-cut wine-presses are to be seen here, and these are probably the remains of the vineyard industry for which Sibmah was once so famous" (Murray's *Palestine*, 1892 ed. p. 173); the "flowery dale" is now "quite barren and uncultivated" (*ibid.*).

411. *Eleal*, mod. El-'Al, 'the High;' about 1½ mile from Hesebon (Murray, p. 186). *the Asphaltic pool*=the Dead Sea; cf. Blount, *Glossographia*, "Asphaltick of or belonging to the Dead Sea, or Lake called Asphaltites;" and Sandys' *Relation*, p. 141, "that cursed lake Asphaltites: so named of the Bitumen which it vomiteth." In *Eikonoklastes* M. speaks of "the apples of Asphaltis"=Dead Sea fruit (*P. W.* i. 461). The bitumen or 'asphaltus' (cf. 729) floating on its surface is called "slime" in *Gen.* xi. 3 (cf. *P. L.* x. 298), or 'Jews' Pitch.'

412—14. *Peor*, Baal-Peor. *Sittim*; see *Numb.* xxv.; it was situated "in the plains of Moab." *to do rites*=*lepā pēgeiv*, *sacra facere* ('to sacrifice'); cf. *Comus*, 535, "Doing abhorred rites to Hecate." *cost them woe*, i.e. the plague wherein died "twenty and four thousand" (*Numb.* xxv. 9).

415—18. He means that in later times, under Solomon, the rites (= 'orgies') of Chemos were introduced at Jerusalem. *of scandal*, i.e. of 'offence' or 'stumbling,' see 403. *grove*, see 404, note. *homicide*; he received human sacrifice (392—396). *Josiah*, see 404, note.

415. *orgies*, cf. Jonson, *Hymenæi* (footnote), "*ἑρπια* with the Greeks value the same that *ceremoniæ* with the Latins; and imply all sorts of rites." *enlarged*, carried still further.

419—21. *bordering*, i.e. Palestine, on north. *the brook*, the Besor, "the river of Egypt." These limits comprise Canaan.

422. *Baalim*. The supreme male deity of Phœnician and Canaanitish nations was the Sun-god, Baal: worshipped in different places under different aspects and titles—e.g. Baal-Berith, Baal-Zebub, Baal-

Peor. The collective name of all these manifestations of the gods was 'Baälim' (plural). So 'Ashtaroth' (plural) was collective name of different manifestations of the moon-goddess Ashtoreth (sing.), the supreme female deity of these nations, and counterpart of Baal.

423, 424. Imitated by Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 69, 70:

"For Spirits, freed from mortal laws, with ease
Assume what sexes and what shapes they please."

Pope imitates Milton much—often most wittily.

424—29. Repeated VI. 351—53, where he says that spirits "limb themselves," as they like, and assume "colour, shape, or size," according to their pleasure. *essence pure*=the "liquid texture" of spirits, VI. 348.

428. *what shape they choose*. See 789, 790. Satan takes several "shapes" in *P. L.*: e.g. in IV. 402, 403, he is first a lion (an allusion to 1 Peter v. 8), then a tiger. In works on demonology popular in 17th cent. evil spirits often appear in shape of wild animals—see "Digression of Spirits" in Burton's *Anatomy*, I. ii. 1. 2. Thus in the *Faust-buch* (1587), chap. XXIII, numerous spirits are introduced to Faustus, each in form of some animal; see Dr Ward's *Faustus*, p. 141.

429. *dilated*, expanded. *obscure*, dark. M. invests the angels with a radiance (see *Appen.* p. 147) which they can lay aside.

433. Cf. "living Dread," *S. A.* 1673, "living God" in Scripture.

434—436. *bowing...bowed*. Sarcastic play on words (see 642).

435—437. I keep the punctuation of the original eds., which makes 'bowed' the main verb, 'sunk' a participle. Some editors, by inserting a comma after 'heads,' just reverse the relation of 'bowed' and 'sunk.'

438—441. See 422, note. *Astoreth*, or Astarte, identical with Assyrian Istar and Greek Aphrodite, was symbolised in the religion of Phœnicians by the planet Venus or the Moon: in the latter case she was represented as horned like the crescent moon. Cf. Selden, *de Dis Syriis*—*Lunam autem se ostendit Astarte, cum fronte corniculata fuerit conspicua* (1629 ed., p. 246). So M. regards her here and *Nat. Ode*, 200, "moonèd Ashtaroth, *Heaven's queen*"—a title due to her as moon-goddess (*Jeremiah* vii. 18). Cf. "Assyrian queen" (i.e. Istar), *Com.* 1002. The name is cognate with Sanskrit *tara* or *stara*, L. *stella*, E. *star*.

Sidon was the oldest, and for a time the chief, city of Phœnicia.

443—46. See 401, note, and cf. *P. R.* II. 169—171. *large*; "God gave Solomon...largeness of heart," 1 *Kings* iv. 29.

✓ 446—52. "In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn," *Nat. Ode*, 204. (According to the legend, Thammuz, son of Cyneras, King of Byblus in Phœnicia, was slain by a boar in Lebanon; but every year his blood flowed afresh, and he came to life again—there being annual festivals in his honour at Byblus and elsewhere, first to lament his death, then to celebrate his revival. Thammuz, 'Sun of Life,' is the Greek Adonis (the god of the solar year), and the story symbolises alternation of summer and winter. The notion of his blood flowing again was due to the reddening of the waters of the river Adonis through the peculiar red mud brought down by spring torrents from the Lebanon heights. M. alludes to the story, IX. 440, *Mansus*, 11.

449. *ditty*; strictly the words alone of a song; Lat. *dictatum*.

450, 451, *smooth*, smooth-flowing. *native*, i.e. from the river's source. *ran purple*, i.e. with reddened waters; *purple*, see G.

454—57. *Ezek. viii. 14*. Probably the Jews owed this worship to their intercourse with Phœnicians.

✓ 457—61. "Behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold," 1 *Sam. v. 4*. *Dagon*, the national god of the Philistines. His worship seems to have been introduced from Babylonia, since cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions mention a god *Dakan* or *Dagan*, probably identical with Dagon. The name has also been derived (i) from Heb. *Dag*, a fish, (ii) from Heb. word for 'corn,' Dagon being the god also of agriculture.

458. *in earnest*, with better reason than the mourners just mentioned. *captive ark*, see 1 *Sam. v. 2*.

460. *grunsel*, threshold; see G.

463. *downward fish*; a symbol that he was a "sea-idol" (*S. A.* 13), the Philistines themselves being a race who had come into Canaan over the sea (from Crete), and dwelt along sea-coast. Cf. 1 *Sam. v. 4*, margin. Probably M. connected the name with *Dag*, a fish.

464—66. He mentions the five chief cities of the Philistines, Ashdod and Gaza (cf. *S. A.*, *passim*) being principal seats of worship of Dagon. *Azotus*, Greek form of Ashdod, cf. *Acts viii. 40*; used in Vulgate; Selden, *de Dis Syriis* (p. 262), says, *In Azoto sive Asdodo... fanum celebre erat Dagonis*. *Ascalon*=*Askelon*; so Septuagint and Vulgate. *Accaron*=*Ekron*, as in Vulgate, which also has *Accarenita*=people of Ekron (see 398, note). These must have been current forms in 17th cent.: cf. Sandys' *Relation*, p. 153, "Ten miles North of Ascalon along the shore stands Azotus: and eight miles beyond that

Acharon, now places of no reckoning." Cf. also Scot, *Discovery*, 1584, "Belzebub the god of Acharon" (vii. xiii.), and Heywood's *Hierarchie*, "Baalzebub, of the Accarronites," p. 40. *Gaza*, modern Guzzeh; on borders of desert that separates Palestine from Egypt: hence "frontier bounds."

467—69. *Rimmon*, Syrian deity of *Damascus* (2 *Kings* v. 18), which lay between the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* (2 *Kings* v. 12).

471—76. *a leper*, Naaman (2 *Kings* v.). For the Syrian altar of Ahaz, see 2 *Kings* xvi. *sottish*, foolish.

476—82. Cf. *Nat. Ode*, 211, 212, "The brutish gods of Nile...Isis and Orus" (with Osiris, 213—15). *brutish*, because the religion of the Egyptians consisted in a pantheistic worship of nature that took animals for its symbols. Thus *Osiris*, their chief god, was worshipped under symbol of sacred bull, Apis: cf. Pope's line, "the dull ox...Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god" (*Essay on Man*, I. 64). Of *Isis*, 'goddess of the earth,' Herodotus says, "the statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow" (Rawlinson, II. 73). *Anubis* again was represented with a jackal's head, which the Greeks and Romans changed to that of a dog (cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 482 B and Verg. *Æn.* VIII. 698, *latrator Anubis*). *Orus* (or *Horus*), 'path of the sun,' was their Sun-god.

477. *crew*; a depreciatory word in Milton (except in *L' Allegro*, 38), being used often of Satan and his followers; cf. 51, 751.

479. *abused*, deceived, deluded—a common sense in Shak.; cf. *Cymbeline*, III. 4. 123, "my master is abused;" so *Lear*, IV. I. 24.

482—84. The worship by Israelites of the golden calf in the wilderness (*Exod.* xxxii.) is traced to Egyptian cult of Apis. *borrowed* i.e. from Egyptians, whom they "spoiled," *Exod.* xii. 35, 36.

484—86. *rebel king*, Jeroboam, a rebel against Rehoboam (who succeeded Solomon); he "doubled" the sin because he "made *two* calves of gold," setting one in Bethel, the other in Dan (1 *Kings* xii. 20, 28, 29). With l. 486 cf. *Psalm* cvi. 20.

487—89. The tenth plague, *Exod.* xii. See XII. 189, 190. *he passed*, i.e. Israel.

489. "The Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt...and all the first-born of cattle," *Exod.* xii. 29. *bleating*; their deity Ammon was worshipped under the form of a ram.

490. Strictly, *Belial* was not the name of any god, but an abstract word meaning 'that which is without profit'=worthlessness, wickedness: hence generally found in phrases like 'son (or man) of Belial'

(501, 502). It has been treated so in the Bible sometimes, but more often—incorrectly—as a proper name. M. makes Belial a type of effeminacy and lust (cf. *P. R.* II. 150, “Belial, the dissolute spirit that fell, The sensualest”), and rightly does not limit his worship to any particular place—although, to gratify his own hostility to the Church (493—96) and the court (497), he cannot refrain from indicating his opinion as to where Belial is most prevalent. Cf. *P. R.* II., where Satan, speaking to Belial, says (182, 183):

“Have we not seen, or by relation heard,

In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk’st?”

Compare 497.

495. See 1 *Samuel* ii. 12—17.

497. Charles II. was then on the throne. The Licenser might have been expected to raise objections to the line.

502. *flown*, flushed; the combination of the abstract word, “insolence,” with the literal “wine,” suggests the classical figure called *zeugma*.

503—5. *Gen.* xix., *Judg.* xix. The First Ed. had:

“when hospitable Dorez

Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape.”

503. *Witness*, i.e. let the streets bear witness, be a proof.

506. *prime*, first, foremost.

507. *were long to tell*. Cf. x. 469, XII. 261; an imitation of the Latin—cf. Lucretius IV. 1166, *cetera de genere hoc longum est si dicere coner*. Spenser has it, *F. Q.* II. 7. 14, also Drayton, *Polyolbion* xv. (Keightley). *were*, would be; the subjunctive, rare now, but common in Elizabethan English (Abbott).

508. i.e. held (=considered) by Javan’s descendants (the Greeks) to be gods.

confessed later, admitted to be of later origin.

Javan, the son of Japhet; see *Genesis* x. 2. He stands for the Greek race; the name being the same word as *Ion* (older form *Ídawn*), whence *Ionians*, the section of the Greeks with whom Orientals were best acquainted through Phœnician trade. Cf. “isles of *Javan*”=isles of Greece, *S. A.* 715, 716; see *Isai.* lxvi. 19.

509, 510. *Heaven and Earth*, i.e. Uranus and Ge (or Gaia), whose 12 sons, according to the ordinary mythology, were called Titans (see 198, note). One of them, Cronos (=Saturn in Roman mythology) deposed his eldest brother (cf. 511, 512), and afterwards was himself expelled by his own son Zeus=Jove, whose mother was Rhea (cf.

512—514). In 510 M. uses *Titan* as a name for the eldest (cf. "first-born") of the 12 Titans. *enormous*, monstrous.

513. *like measure*, similar treatment.

514, 515. *Ida*, the mountain in Crete where Jove was born. In *Il Pen.* 29 M. associates "Ida's inmost grove" with Saturn.

515, 516. *Olympus*, mountain range between Thessaly and Macedonia; early Greek poets speak of it—literally—as being abode of Zeus and other deities. *snowy*; "its chief summit is covered with perpetual snow" (*Class. Dict.*): hence Homer's epithet *νιφεύς*.

middle air, "i.e. the air between earth and heaven" (Beeching); but a then current theory of mediæval physics divided the air into 3 regions (*æris trina spatia*, as I find in the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius), and I conjecture that M. refers to this view here, and means the middle region of the three; so in *P. R.* II. 117 where, alluding to *Ephes.* ii. 2, he makes "the middle region of thick air" (i.e. not the pure "æther") the meeting-place of Satan and his followers. Cf. again a note in Jonson's *Masque of Hymen* (*ad fin.*), which says that part of the scenery representing clouds opened and "revealed the three regions of air" (then described). See *Appen.* pp. 150—153 for a fuller consideration of the point.

517, 518. *Delphian cliff*; seat of famous oracle of Apollo; on southern slope of Mt Parnassus. Keightley quotes from Soph. *Ædip. Rex* 463, Δελφὶς πέτρα; cf. "steep of Delphos" (with same reference to Apollo), *Nat. Ode*, 178, and Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, 66. *Dodona*, in Epirus; here was an oracle of Zeus.

519, 520. *Doric land*, Greece. According to the common tradition, Saturn came alone to Italy ("the Hesperian fields").

521. *the Celtic*, i.e. 'fields' (from l. 520)—cf. *Com.* 60, "Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields;" or he may be imitating Greek ἡ Κελτική (i.e. χώρα or γῆ, country): in either case he means France—perhaps too Spain. *utmost isles*, e.g. Britain (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* i. 67 *toto divisos orbe Britannos*) and 'ultima Thule.' *utmost*, furthest.

523. *damp*, depressed; cf. "damp" (n.), depression, XI. 293.

528. *recollecting*, re-collecting, getting back again.

532. "A *clarion* is a small shrill treble trumpet" (Hume).

534. *Azazel*, from *Levit.* xvi. 8, where the A. V. has "the scape-goat," while the margin has "Azazel," which the R. V. adopts. That the word was the title of some evil demon is now generally held; and I suspect that in making him one of the fallen angels M. simply followed some tradition of the mediæval demonologists.

536. *advanced*, uplifted; cf. v. 588, "ensigns high advanced." It was the term for raising a standard; cf. *Romeo*, v. 3. 96, "death's pale flag is not advanced there," and *King John*, II. 1. 207.

538. *emblazed*=emblazoned: a term from heraldry. Cf. v. 592 and 2 *Henry VI.* iv. 10. 76, "wear it as a herald's coat, To emblaze the honour." The banner had rich devices portrayed on it.

540. *metal...blowing*, an absolute construction.

542. *Hell's concave*, the vaulted roof of Hell; cf. II. 635.

543. *reign*, realm; so "regency," v. 748. See II. 960—62.

546. *orient*, lustrous, bright; see G.

547, 548. *helms*, helmets. *serried*, locked together, Fr. *cervé*.

549—62. Cromwell's Ironsides. Cf. VI. 63—66, where the host
"moved on

In silence their bright legions, to the sound
Of instrumental harmony, that breathed
Heroic ardour to adventurous deeds."

Here M. is thinking of the description in Thucydides (v. 70) of the Spartans advancing at the battle of Mantinea *ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν*, "to the strains of many flute-players" (Keightley).

550. The "Dorian" is one of the 'authentic' modes in music, Plato calls it "the true Hellenic mode" (*Laches* 188 D), and "the strain of courage," *ἀνδρεία* (*Rep.* 399 A), in contrast to the effeminate "Lydian" mode (see *L' Allegro*, 136, note). It inspires "a moderate and settled temper in the listener," says Aristotle (*Pol.* VIII. 5). In *Arctophila* M. speaks of music which is "grave and Doric," *P. W.* II. 73. Many old German chorales are written in this mode (Grove).

mood=*mode*; see G.

551—59. *recorders*, see G. In *On Education* M. dwells on the influence of music upon character. The lines seem an expression of his own devotion to the same art and inspiration.

556. *swage*, assuage; lit. to make sweet, Lat. *suavis*.

561. *to*, to the sound of, Gk. *ὑπὸ*; cf. 550.

562. *the burnt soil*, see 228, 229.

563. *horrid*; probably in the lit. sense 'bristling' (Lat. *hirsutus*, i.e. with spears etc.; cf. II. 513 and VI. 82).

567, 568. *files*, ranks: "the files of war," VI. 339. *traverse*, across.

573. i.e. since the creation of man, *post hominem creatum*: a Latinism often used by M. with 'after'; cf. *S. A.* 1433, "after his name was told," *Com.* 48, "After the Tuscan mariners transf'ried."

574. *embodied*, assembled, brought together.

574, 575. i.e. any other army, compared with this host of angels, would be as absurdly inferior as an army of pygmies.

575. *that small infantry*, i.e. the Pygmies (cf. 780), the fabulous little folk, of the height of a $\pi\epsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota$ ($13\frac{1}{2}$ inches), whom Homer mentions, *Il.* III. 5. Sir Thomas Browne, not quite certain whether to believe in them, is sure of one thing—that “if any such nation there were, yet it is ridiculous what men have delivered of them; that they fight with cranes upon the backs of rams or partridges” (*Vulgar Errors* IV. xi.).

576—87. Expanding the idea in 573—575, he takes the great cycles of heroic story—Greek (576—79), British (579—81), mediæval, whether French or Italian (582—87)—and says that all the warriors and armies severally associated with these stories could bear no comparison with Satan’s followers.

577. *Phlegra*, the old name of the peninsula of Pallene in Macedonia, where (according to ancient legend) the Giants were born, and where they were vanquished by the Gods. Cf. Drummond:

“they durst in the Phlegrean plain

The mighty rulers of the sky defy.”

577—79. Greek legend, as embodied in epic or tragic verse, centres mainly round Thebes, Troy (Ilium), and Mycenæ (the city of the Pelopidæ). Thus in his first *Elegy* M. epitomises the chief themes of Greek tragedy—*seu mæret Pelopœia domus, seu nobilis Ili, | aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos* (Creon was king of Thebes). Here he mentions only two of the cycles. By the “heroic race” that fought at *Thebes* he means (1) Polynices and his six companions whose exploit is told in Æschylus’ play, *Septem contra Thebas*; (2) their descendants, the Epigoni, who ten years later destroyed Thebes. The heroes of the story of *Ilium* are those whom the *Iliad* presents to us. There “auxiliar gods” take part, some helping the Trojans, some the Greeks.

579—81. Cf. Milton’s own account of his youthful studies: “hear me out now, readers, that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty *fables and romances*, which recount in solemn cantos deeds of knighthood,” *Apol. for Smect.*, P. W. III. 118. The interest of this reference to the legend of King Arthur is explained in *Introduction*. M. discusses the story at some length in his *Hist. of Britain*, and evidently had studied it closely.

580. *in fable*; an allusion, suggests Keightley, in particular to the *Historia Britonum* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who gives one of our earliest versions (1140) of the Arthurian legend. No doubt M. is thinking of Geoffrey whom he used extensively in his *History*; but

there he often refers to the Breton monk Nennius and to Gildas—yet earlier authorities than Geoffrey—likewise to William of Malmesbury: so that here we can scarcely limit the reference to any particular writer. 'Fable' is his favourite term in the *History* for these old Chronicles. *romance*; e.g. Mallory's *Morte Darthur*, published by Caxton, 1485 (the basis of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*).

Uther's son, King Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon; cf. Tennyson, *Palace of Art*, "mythic Uther's deeply-wounded son." In *Epitaph. Damon*. 166—8 M. glances at the story of Arthur's birth.

581. The division of Arthur's "fabulous paladins" (as Drummond calls them, *Forth Feasting*, 1617) into "British and Armoric" coincides with *P. R.* II. 360, 361, "Knights of Logres or of Lyones, Lancelot or Pelleas or Pellenore:" where Logres=Britain, more strictly England east of river Severn; and Lyones=Brittany (according to one theory), whence came Sir Tristram. *Armoric*, of Armorica=Brittany: "it was first called *Armorica* from its situation on the Sea, as the word importeth in the old language of that people" (Heylin, I. 167). Brittany is closely connected with the Arthurian legend.

Begirt with, surrounded by. Cf. Gray, *The Bard*, III.

583—87. The names are associated with romances (mainly Italian) in prose or verse; see *Appen.* pp. 153—156. *jousted*, tilted.

586. *his peerage*, the 'douze pairs' (i.e. *peers*) or 12 'paladins' of France (*P. R.* III. 343): the most famous being Roland, the Achilles or brave man, and Oliver, the Ulysses or wise man, of the Old French epic poems and prose-romances which narrate the exploits of Charlemagne and his knights.

587. *Fontarabbia*, modern Fuenterrabia, a frontier fortress on Bay of Biscay—S. of Biarritz. Its position made it the scene of many encounters between Spanish and French.

588. *observed*, obeyed.

591—94. *Appen.* p. 147. *her*; he personifies "form;" see *its* in *G. like a tower*; cf. Tennyson's *Ode* (38) on the Duke of Wellington.

596—99. The lines to which the Licenser for the Press took exception when the MS. of the poem was submitted to him. Censure of such innocuous verses becomes doubly ridiculous when we remember certain later passages. Doubtless the Licenser did not get far in his reading; it must have been a shock to him if he ever discovered that he had tacitly approved the attack on the Church in XII. 507—535.

597. *eclipse*; proverbially of evil omen, the precursor of trouble. *disastrous*, boding disaster; see *G.*

601. *intrench'd*, cut into; cf. O. F. *trancher*, to cut.

603. *considerate*, considering, full of thought. Cf. *Arctostaphylos*, "let us be more considerate builders, more wise," *P. W.* II. 93.

605—12. See *Appendix* p. 146.

605. *remorse*, pity. *grievous*, deep feeling (but not anger).

606. *fellow* cf. partner, etc.

609. *devoid* cf. deprived of, lit. 'faced with loss of'; see G.

613—615. *scathed*, damaged; see G. Whether lightning can be said to 'scathe' the top of a tree seems doubtful. *blasted heath*; see *Macbeth*, I. 3. 77. *blasted*, withered by the lightning (612).

619. *thrice*, a conventional number; cf. Ovid, *Met.* XI. 419, *ter conata loqui, ter fictus ora rigavit*. *assayed*, tried; see G. ✓

624. *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*; so often in M. and Shak.

632. Scan *exile*; cf. X. 484, *Richard II.* I. 3. 151.

633. *emptied Heaven*; a mere boast, see II. 692, note.

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646. *to work*, to achieve.

650, 651. *rise*, prevalent. *fame*, report; see II. 346.

650—54. See II. 345—353, 830—835, and X. 481. The first hint of the design against mankind comes from Satan (cf. II. 379 *et seq.*), though Beelzebub afterwards develops it (II. 345—378).

656. *eruption*, breaking forth from hell—sortie.

660. i.e. *pax desperatur*; cf. VI. 495, "nothing...to be despaired," *nil desperandum*.

662. *understood*, i.e. among themselves, and so secret.

668. Like Roman soldiers applauding an oration of their general.

670. *grisly*, horrible; cf. Germ. *grässlich*, *grausig*.

674. "It was the common opinion of chemists that metals were composed of sulphur and quicksilver" (Keightley).

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682. "And the street of the city was pure gold," *Rev.* xxi. 21.

683. *else*; separated from *ought*, with which it goes; cf. 109.

684. *vision beatific* = *Visio Beatifica*, the phrase used by Schoolmen to express "seeing" God (*Matthew* v. 8). Cf. "blessed vision," v. 613, "happy-making sight," *Ode on Time*, 18.

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688. Horace's *aurum irreperitum et sic melius situm*—*Od.* III. 3. 49.

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708. M. might be expected to understand the mechanism of the organ, his favourite instrument (see *Life*).

710—717. Cf. Pope (who imitates the whole passage), *Temple of Fame*, 91, "The growing towers, like exhalations, rise;" and Tennyson, *Ænone*, "as yonder walls (i.e. of Troy) Rose slowly to a music slowly breathed." Peck noted that these lines read like an account of some Jacobean Masque, describing one of those elaborate structures of stage-architecture designed by Inigo Jones and brought on the scene by machines.

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of machinery, to the accompaniment of music. Thus I find that in Jonson's *Entertainment at Theobalds* the main scene represented "a glorious place, figuring the seat of the household gods...erected with *columns* (= 'pillars') and *architrave*, *frieze* and *cornice*." (See Essay on Masque and Milton's connection therewith, *Comus*, pp. 127—133). *symphonies*, i.e. the strains of the instruments accompanying the voices.

713—716. *pilasters*, square columns usually set within a wall and slightly projecting. *architrave*, the main or 'master' beam ($\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ +*trabs*) that rests immediately upon a row of pillars, the *frieze* coming just above, and the *cornice* projecting above the frieze.

716. *bossy*, i.e. sculptures in relief.

717. *fretted gold*=gold wrought with designs, patterns; see G.

717, 718. Not necessarily (as Bentley thought) a repetition of 694: since there 'Babel' may mean the Tower, while 'Memphian' may have the general sense 'Egyptian.'

718. *Alcairo*; he means Memphis, giving it the name of the later capital built (10th cent. A.D.) some few miles from site of its predecessor. The form "Alcairo" (Arab. *Al Kahirah*, the City of Victory) seems to have been current then; compare Hexham's *Mercator*, "Memphis...is called at this day (1636) *Cairo* or *Alcairo*" (II. 427).

720. *Belus*. Cf. Sandys' *Relation*, "*Belus Priscus*, reputed a God, and honored with Temples; called *Bel* by the Assyrians, and *Baal* by the Hebrewes" (p. 207). The famous temple of Bel at Babylon (Herodotus, I. 181—3), attributed to Semiramis, is described by Raleigh, *History*, p. 183 (1621 ed.). *Serapis*; there was a temple to him at Memphis, but more celebrated was that at Alexandria, the *Serapeum* to which the great library was attached. Serapis was identical with Greek Hades, whose worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I., some of the attributes of Osiris being transferred to him. 'Serāpis' and 'Serāpis' are found—the latter more correct.

723, 724. *Stood fixed*, i.e. was now complete (Lat. *stabat*), having reached its appointed height. *discover*, reveal; F. *découvrir*.

728, 729. *cresset*, a kind of hanging lamp, see G. *naphtha* and *asphaltus*: the former the liquid (for the lamps), the latter the solid substance (for the cressets). *asphaltus*, see 411, note. The forms 'asphāltus' and 'asphāltum' were current till this cent.: modern 'asphalt' is from Fr. *asphalte*.

✓ 732. *the architect*. Masson says that Mammon is intended, M. identifying him with Mulciber (or Vulcan). But (with Mr Beeching) I

754. *trumpet's*. For the reason explained at 59, note, either *trumpet's* or *trumpets* is possible here and in II. 515.

756. *Pandemonium*, 'the home of all the demons;' cf. X. 424. The word seems to have been coined by Milton (from Gk. *παν*, 'all' + *δαίμων*, 'a demon'). Some prefer the form 'Pandæmonium.'

758. *squared regiment* = "perfect phalanx," 550.

763—66. "He alludes to those accounts of the single combats between the Saracens ('Panim chivalry') and Christians (cf. 582) in Spain and Palestine, of which the old romances are full" (Callander): using, as in *S. A.* in the dispute between Samson and Harapha, the technical terms of the mediæval duello. For a good description of such scenes, cf. *The Faerie Queene*, IV. 3. 4 *et seq.*

763. Possibly "covered field" = Fr. *champ clos*, the space for combat, enclosed with barriers or 'lists;' cf. *S. A.* 1087, "listed field." *champions*; the technical word for combatants—*campiones qui in campum descendunt et duello seu monomachia decertant* (Ducange).

764. *wont*, were wont; see G. *Soldan*; see G.

765, 766. *Panim*; see G. He mentions the two kinds of combat—(1) that fought out "to the utterance" (*Macbeth*, III. 1. 72), i.e. till one of the fighters was killed: cf. "mortal duel," *S. A.* 1102; (2) that which was merely an exhibition of skill, spears and swords with blunted points being used. *career*, Fr. *carrière*, a short gallop at high speed; another term peculiar to tournaments. Cf. *Animadversions*, "all this careering with spear in rest," *P. W.* III. 90.

767. Cf. II. 528.

768. The prevalence of *s* is meant to suggest the scene—"sound echoing sense;" so that one is tempted to print with the original editions 'russling.'

768—75. *as bees*. The simile had been used by Homer, *Iliad* II. 87 *et seq.*, and Vergil, *Æneid* I. 430—36, VI. 707—9.

769. *Taurus*, one of the signs of the zodiac; strictly, the time of year defined is April 19—May 20. Cf. X. 671—73.

with; not 'in company with,' since *Taurus* (as Bentley objected) is a fixed constellation, but 'in the neighbourhood of' (Beeching).

774. *expatiate* = Lat. *spatior*, 'walk abroad;' cf. Blount, "Expatiate, to wander, to stray, to spread abroad." *confer*, confer *of*, discuss.

777—780. Spirits, we have seen (428), can contract themselves.

780, 781. Pliny (*Nat. History* VII. 11. 26) placed the dwelling of the Pygmies (see 575, note) "beyond the source of the Ganges—even in the edge and skirts of the mountains." So *Batman upon*

Bartholome (1582 ed., p. 377), "Pigmei be little men of a cubite long... and they dwell in mountaines of Inde."

that, the well-known, whose name needs no mention.

781. *beyond the Indian mount*; probably he means Imaus (cf. III. 431), in classical writers (e.g. Pliny) the *western* chain of the Himalayas, i.e. between the Ganges and the Caspian. It should be noticed that 'extra Imaum' (i.e. East of or 'beyond') and 'intra Imaum' (i.e. West of) were phrases employed by map-makers of 17th cent. to describe (with convenient vagueness) regions of Central Asia. Thus in Mercator's map of 'Tartary' we have "Scythia extra"—and "Scythia intra—Imaum montem." Milton's readers might be reminded of this common distinction.

781—85. A reminiscence of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 28, 29, 141 (a play constantly imitated by Milton). Cf. too, Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 31, "airy Elves by moonlight shadows seen." Commonly "fairies" and "elves" (more rustic in character) are distinguished. *sees, or dreams he sees*; from Vergil's *aut videt, aut vidisse putat*—*Æneid* VI. 454.

785, 786. *arbitress*, witness; cf. Horace's *non infideles arbitra* | *Nox et Diana*—*Epod.* v. 48, 49. She comes "nearer to the earth" because influenced (II. 665) by the fairies. *pale*, with alarm.

790, 791. i.e. they had so contracted their forms that, though numberless, they had plenty of room to move about (Richardson).

795. *recess*, retirement. His sarcastic purpose in applying the ecclesiastical word "conclave" to the assembly of evil angels is unmistakable: that being the term specially applied to "the Meeting or Assembly of the Cardinals for the Election [of the Pope], or for any important affair of the Church" (Blount). Cf. his contemptuous reference in *Of Reformation* to the "councils (i.e. of the Church) and conclaves that demolish one another" (*P. W.* II. 389), and the similar use of "consistory" *P. R.* I. 42. Strictly 'conclave,' like Lat. *conclave*, meant the room in which a meeting took place: then the meeting itself.

797. *frequent*=Lat. *frequens*, crowded, numerous; see G.

797, 798. *after...summons read*. Cf. 573 and Tennyson, *Pelleas and Ettarre*, "after trumpet blown." *consult*, consultation; common!; the result of a consultation, i.e. a decision, decree—like Lat. *consultum*; e.g. in Dryden, *Fables*, "their grave consults dissolv'd in smoke."

BOOK II.

1. Cf. the picture of Satan throned on "his royal seat," v. 756.

2. *Ormus*, ancient *Armuz*, a town situate on an island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Cf. Fairfax, xvii. 25, "Orms, plac'd in the wide Huge Persian bay, a town rich, fair, and large." Much celebrated as a mart for pearls and jewels; cf. Howell's *Familiar Letters*, "Ormus...the greatest Mart in all the Orient for all sorts of jewels" (Jacobs' ed. 1892, I. 157), and Marvell, *Song of the Emigrants*, "Jewels more rich than Ormus shows." Hexham (1636) calls it *Ormus Emporium*, and Heylin says, "in regard of the situation, it was one of the richest Empories in all the world; the wealth of Persia and East-India being brought hither" (*Cosmography*, 1682 ed., III. 143).

2, 3. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. 3. 222, 223:

"like a rude and savage man of *Inde*,

At the first opening of *the gorgeous east*."

The form *Ind* (or *Inde*) is common in poets—cf. *Comus*, 606. The first settlements of the East India Company dated from about 1653, and English people were beginning to hear more concerning the wealth of India (cf. 638).

3, 4. *or where*, i.e. of the places where. "It was the eastern ceremony, at the coronation of their kings; to powder them with gold-dust and seed-pearl" (Warburton); also to strew pearls and jewels at the monarch's feet. Shakespeare knew of the custom (cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 5. 45, 46), which some traveller must have related. At the end of his *History of Moscovia* M. gives a list of authorities, mainly 'Voyages' and 'Travels' (e.g. Hakluyt and Purchas); and passages like this and III. 437—39 show how he used such sources of information.

4. Cf. Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 94, "With diamond flaming and barbaric gold." *Barbaricus* is an epithet of *aurum*, *Æn.* II. 504.

9. *success*, ill-fortune; see G.

10. *imaginations*, vain thoughts, schemes.

11. *Powers...Dominions*. For these titles, see *Appendix*, p. 157.

12—17. A parenthesis.

12. *for*. He calls them "Deities of *Heaven*" because he still regards Heaven as theirs. Exactly similar passages are X. 460, 461, and V. 361, 362 (note). In each case the clause introduced by *for* explains some particular word or phrase in the previous sentence.

14, 15. i.e. I do not consider Heaven lost. 'Give for lost,' a common phrase; cf. *S. A.* 1697, "So Virtue, given for lost," and George Herbert, *Church Porch*, "Who say, 'I care not,' those I give for lost." See too *The Winter's Tale*, III. 2. 96, "your favour I do give lost," i.e. consider it as lost. *Virtues*, see *Appendix*, p. 157.

16. i.e. than they would have been if had they not fallen.

17. i.e. have such trust in themselves as not to fear.

20. Cf. I. 635—37. *counsel*, some needlessly change to *council*.

23. *unenvied*, not to be envied, unenviable; see G.

27. *whom*, him whom.

29. *your bulwark*, as your defence; in apposition to *whom* (27).

26—30. Satan calls himself "only supreme in misery," IV. 91.

28. *the Thunderer*, the Almighty; an obviously fitting title here, see I. 93, 174—76, 258. Cf. *Tonans* applied to Jupiter.

39, 40. See I. 642, note.

43. See I. 392. *Moloch* ("furious king," VI. 357) is conspicuous in the great battle in Heaven (VI. 354—62). Newton reminds us of Homer's phrase *σκηπτουχος βασιλεύς* (*Il.* I. 279).

50. *recked*, cared, cf. 'reckless,' careless, 'reckoning,' care (*Lyc.* 116); *reck*=A. S. *rēcan*, to care, is common in Elizabethan writers. *thereafter*; 'accordingly' (i.e. as not fearing God), or 'thereupon.'

51. *sentence*=opinion, vote, Lat. *sententia*; cf. 291.

52. *more unexpert*, less experienced in them than in war.

59. i.e. the prison assigned by his tyranny. For Milton no word has worse associations than 'tyranny'; cf. *First Defence*, "the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and most pernicious to virtue, [are] tyranny and superstition;" and *The Ready Way*, "the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny" (*P. W.* I. 212, II. 113). See I. 124, note.

60—70. Contrast Belial's reply, 129—142.

63. *tortures*, the things that torture us. *horrid*, see 513.

67. *fire and horror*, cf. I. 502, note. *equal*, i.e. to his.

69. *mixed*, filled. *Tartarean*; he applies to this nether world terms drawn from the classics—e.g. 'Tartarus'=Hell 858, VI. 54; 'Tartarean' and 'Stygian' 506 and I. 239=belonging to Hell, infernal; 'Erebus' 883. Strictly, the practice involves some incongruity

of effect; cf. the mixture of classical and Scriptural allusions in *Lyc.* No doubt, M. was influenced by the Renaissance fashion of identifying the Hell of Christian theology with that of classical writers.

73, 74. *such*, i.e. those who think the way difficult. Used as a noun *drench* ('that which drenches' i.e. wets thoroughly) was, and is, commonly applied to a draught of physic for animals. Here therefore it is a contemptuous word—as in the *Animadversions*, "to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a matin and even-song drench," *P. W.* III. 57. *Moloch's object is to rouse them to action by taunts. forgetful lake* = "oblivious pool," I. 266.

75—81. See I. 633, 634, and cf. the account of the expulsion of the angels from Heaven VI. 856—79. Not being subject to the law of gravitation they did not 'fall,' but were driven down by force.

75. *proper*, natural = Lat. *proprius*, belonging to oneself.

77. *but* = 'that not;' usually in a negative clause; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 209, "not a soul but felt a fever," i.e. *that* did not. So *Richard III.* I. 3. 186. (See Abbott, *Shakesp. Gram.* p. 84.)

79. *the deep*, Chaos; see *Appen.* p. 137.

82—84. *event*, issue (I. 624). The lines give a supposed objection from one of the audience.

83. *Our stronger*, our superior, our vanquisher.

89. *exercise*, torment; see G.

90—92. Thyer illustrates from Spenser, *Tears of the Muses*, 125, 126, "Ah, wretched world! and all that is therein, *The vassals of Gods wrath*, and slaves of sin;" and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. I. 37, "To ease the anguish of a *torturing hour*." *inexorably*; so the original editions; he may have dictated *inexorable*.

92. *Calls*; singular because the two subjects really form a single idea ('punishment'); cf. I. 139.

97. *essential*, essence (see 439), substance, viz. of their angelic forms. In M. as in Shak. an adj. = a noun is very common (cf. 'obscure' 406, 'abrupt' 409): an illustration of Dr Abbott's remark that in Elizabethan E. "almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech" (*Shakesp. Gram.* p. 5).

99, 100. Cf. 146—154, and I. 117 (note).

100, 101. *at worst*, i.e. we have already reached the worst point (cf. 162, 163), short of absolute annihilation. To place 'at worst' between commas changes the sense. *by proof*, by experience.

104. *fatal*, upheld by fate (I. 133), hence secure.

106. *denounced*, threatened.

109. *Belial*; see I. 490, note. In the systems of the demonologists Belial holds high rank; Heywood (*Hierarchie*, 1635, p. 436) makes him head of the fourth of the nine Orders into which the fallen angels were divided (corresponding with the nine Heavenly Orders—see p. 157). In assigning to Belial the two qualities of personal beauty and persuasive speech M. has followed (*more suo*) mediæval tradition. Cf. Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), "This Beliall...taketh the form of a beautifull Angell, he speaketh faire" (xv. 2). *humane*, polished, refined.

113. *manna*, words sweet as manna, "the taste of [which] was like wafers made with honey," *Exod.* xvi. 31.

113, 114. Alluding, as Bentley noted, to the profession of the Sophists—*τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*. The reproach was made against Socrates; cf. Plato, *Apology* 18 B, which probably alludes to the satirical lines about Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 111—115. So M. in *Tetrachordon*, "as was objected to Socrates by them who could not resist his efficacy, that he ever made the worse cause [i.e. *λόγος*] seem the better," *P. W.* III. 320. Blount (1672) defines a 'Sophister' as "a cunning or cavilling disputer, who will make a false matter seem true." *dash*, confound, cast down.

119. The first part of his speech answers Moloch point by point.

123. *ominous*; a dissyllable, *i* being elided before pure *n*.

124. *in fact of arms*=Fr. *en fait d'armes*, i.e. in deeds, exploits; *fact*=*feat* in sense as in etymology (Lat. *factum*). See 537.

127. *scope*, aim, mark; Gk. *σκοπός*.

130. *render*; plural, because 'watch'=watchmen.

132. Scan *obscure* (cf. *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 213), and see 210, note.

133. *scout*, reconnoitre; Fr. *écouter*, Lat. *auscultare*.

139—42. *mould*, substance, i.e. of the angels, whom Moloch would assail with Hell-fire (67, 68). Spiritual frames, M. has said (I. 117), are formed of an "empyrean substance," i.e. of pure fire; cf. *Psalms* civ. 4, "Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire." And this fire, argues Belial here and 215, 216, will, through its greater purity, prevail over (i.e. be insensible to) the "baser" fire of Hell.

143. *flat*, absolute, complete. Shakespeare has "flat perjury," *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. 2. 44; "flat rebellion," *King John*, III. 1. 298, etc.

155—59. This thought that the evil angels must live, so that they may suffer the more, is not peculiar to M. Thus Grotius (*Adamus*

Exul), makes Satan say, *mors una... | mthi summa voti est; nec, quod extremum est malis, | licet perire*; and Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* LI., has, "the devil, were it in his power, would do the like [viz. destroy himself]; which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute...his immortality."

156. Ironical. *belike*, perhaps, no doubt; only here in M., but many times in Shakespeare; cf. *Hamlet*, III. 2. 305, "belike, he likes it not." *impotence*, lack of self-restraint (= Lat. *impotentia*).

159. *cease*, i.e. from war: 'why give up the struggle?'

160. *they who*, Moloch: a courteously indirect reference, consonant with Belial's "humane" character.

165. *what when*, i.e. how was it when—what was our state? Many texts print a note of exclamation (not in the original editions) after *what*, making the sentence an *anacoluthon*.

amain, with all speed. *strook*; Milton's preference for this form to *struck* is marked (Masson).

166. *afflicting*, perhaps in the lit. sense of *affligere*; see I. 186.

168, 169. See I. 51—53, 311—313. *chained*; see I. 48.

170. *Isaiah xxx. 33*.

174. *red right hand*=*rubens dextera* of Jupiter (Horace, *Od.* 1. 2. 2).

175, 176. *her*, of Hell (176). *this firmament*, i.e. of "the horrid roof" (644) of Hell, to which he points. *cataracts*, floods, torrents; Gk. *καταράκτης*, waterfall. See XI. 824, note.

180—82. Editors compare *Æn.* VI. 75, *rapidis ludibria ventis* ("the sport of every wind," Dryden), and 740, 741. Probably M. had in his thoughts *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 124—26:

"To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world" [cf. 1052].

182. *racking*; Keightley says, "sweeping, driving along. Clouds thus driven are called the *rack*" (cf. "racking clouds," 3 *Henry VI.* II. 1. 27). But perhaps=torturing. Cf. I. 126.

184. *converse*, dwell with; Lat. *cum*, with + *versari*, to dwell.

185. With M. (even in his prose, as Todd noted) and other poets a favourite arrangement of words, expressing emphasis; cf. v. 899, "Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified;" also *P. R.* III. 429, *Hamlet*, I. 5. 77. We may compare the repetition in the Greek dramatists of adjectives compounded with the negative prefix *ἀ-* (=Eng. *un-*); e.g. in Euripides, *Hecuba* 669, *ἀπαῖς*, *ἀνανδρος*, *ἀπολις*,

ἐξεφθαπμένη; and Sophocles, *Antigone* 1071, ἀμοιβον, ἀκτέριστον, ἀνδρίων νέκυν.

187. See I. 661, 662.

190, 191. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh," *Psalms* ii. 4. *motions*, proposals, schemes; cf. the use of 'motion' in politics, and the verb in IX. 229, "Well hast thou motioned."

194—96. A supposed objection; cf. 82—84, note.

199. *to suffer...to do*. *Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est*, Livy II. 12; *quidvis et facere et pati*, Horace, *Od.* III. 24. 43. "A man may confide in persons constituted for noble ends, who dare do and suffer"—Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, I. 25.

207. *ignominy*; a trisyllable, as in I. 115, the unaccented vowel (*i*) being elided before pure *n*. The 1st Folio prints *ignomy* in I *Henry IV.* v. 4. 100, "Thy *ignomy* sleep with thee in the grave."

210. Scan *supreme*. This throwing back of the accent in words like 'supreme,' 'extreme,' 'complete,' 'obscure' (cf. 132), is usual in M. (and Shak.) when they precede a monosyllable or a noun accented on first syllable. Cf. I. 735, *Com.* 273, "Not any boast of skill, but *éxtreme* shift," 421, "She that has that, is clad in *cóplete* steel."

211. *far removed*; cf. 321, and see I. 74, 75, note.

215, 216. Cf. 139—142, note. *essence*, see 439. *vapour*, used of hot exhalations, as in XII. 635, "torrid heat and vapour."

inured, accustomed to the flames. To *inure* is literally 'to bring into practice' (= *ure*). For the obsolete noun *ure* (F. *œuvre*, 'work,' Lat. *opera*) cf. Bacon's *Essay Of Simulation*, "lest his hand should be out of *ure*," i.e. out of practice. Cf. 'manure,' to work with the hand, to cultivate.

217—19. Cf. 274—278. *temper*, nature, temperament.

219. *void of pain*; 'a consideration appropriate to Belial, who represents slothful ease and luxury.

220. *light*, a noun, surely; to take it as an adj., 'easy,' is to lose the fine hyperbole that for them 'darkness' may become—'light.'

224. *for*, regarded as happy—looked at from that standpoint.

226—28. His counsel accords with his effeminate character (I. 490). *reason's garb*. Cf. *Com.* 759, "false rules...in reason's garb." *ignoble ease*=*ignobile otium*, Verg. *G.* IV. 564.

228. *thus Mammon*. See I. 678. His speech partly replies to Moloch (since he dismisses the notion of war altogether), partly carries Belial's counsel a step farther. The gist of what Belial said was—"let us temporize, stay here and trust to chance—something may happen."

Mammon answers—"let us indeed stay here, but not idly look to the future: rather straightway set about founding a realm here to compensate for what we have lost there." Belial, type of ease and sloth, stands, as it were, halfway between Moloch and Mammon.

231, 232. *then...when*, i.e. then only = 'never.' A favourite phrase; cf. IV. 970, "Then, when I am thy captive, talk of chains."

233. *the strife*, between Fate and Chance (cf. 907—910); or between the rebellious angels and the Almighty (less probable).

234, 235. *the former*, to unthrone the King of Heaven; *the latter*, to regain our lost rights. *to hope*, to hope for, cf. *S. A.* 838, note. *argues*, shows, proves (Lat. *arguere*); so often in *M.* and *Shak.*; cf. *S. A.* 1193, "which argued me no foe;" *Romeo*, II. 3. 33.

241—43. See V. 161—63, and contrast VI. 744.

244. *sovrán*, see *G. breathes*, is fragrant with.

245. *ambrosial*, often used by *M.*, as by Tennyson, of that which delights the sense of taste or of smell. Cf. 'ambrosia' = fragrance V. 57. Strictly *ἀμβροσία* was the food of the gods.

249. *pursue*, seek after, try to regain, i.e. "our state" (251).

254. Horace, *Epist.* I. 18. 107, *et mihi vivam | quod superest ævi*. Note the oxymorons in these lines (252—7).

255—57. It was a favourite thought with Milton that many men would rather have "Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty" (*S. A.* 271): i.e. would sacrifice their freedom to save the trouble of maintaining it. See XII. 220, note. Sallust, his favourite historian (*Letter* to Lord Henry de Bras), makes Æmilius Lepidus say—*accipite otium cum servitio...mihi potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio*.

263—67. Cf. *Psalms* xviii. 11, 13, xcvi. 2, "Clouds and darkness are round about him."

270—73. See I. 670 *et seq.*

271. *Wants not*, does not lack.

273. *magnificence*, such as the palace described, I. 710 *et seq.*

274, 275. All existing things were supposed to consist of four 'elements' or constituent parts—*fire, air, water, earth*; and in each 'element' dwelt certain Spirits or 'dæmons' peculiar to it, ruling it, and partaking of its nature. Cf. *Il Pen.* 93, 94, "those dæmons that are found in *fire, air, flood, or under-ground*." That these 'dæmons' were the fallen angels was a common view; see *Appen.* pp. 148—150, and cf. Satan's address to his followers, *P. R.* II. 121—24:

"Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones;
Demonian spirits now, from the *element*

Each of his reign allotted, rightlier called
Powers of *fire, air, water and earth beneath!*"

When M. makes Mammon say that their 'torments' (i.e. Hell's fires) may become their 'element,' he clearly alludes to these mediæval beliefs; cf. 217—219, 397—402.

277. *needs*, of necessity—genitive case of *need*. A survival of the O.E. adverbial use of the genitive; cf. *willes*, willingly, *sothes*, truly, *daies and nightes*, day and night.

278. *sensible*, sense: adj. for noun, cf. 97.

281. *compose*, adjust, i.e. adapt ourselves to.

282. *where*, so First Ed.; Second Ed. *were*.

284. Cf. v. 872, 873, "as the sound of waters deep, Hoarse murmur echoed to his words applause."

287. *now...lull*, and which (viz. the winds) now lull.

288. *o'erwatched*, tired with watching; cf. *S. A.* 405.

292. *field*, battle; see 768, I. 105, note.

294. i.e. the "two-handed" sword, "from the armoury of God" (vi. 251, 321), with which in the great battle in Heaven Michael laid low the rebellious angels and disabled Satan himself (vi. 320—327). Not mentioned in either *Daniel* or *Revelation*.

299, 300. In Scripture Beël-zebul = Baal-zebul, 'Lord of Flies,' is the Sun-god of the Philistines, i.e. a local manifestation of the great deity Baal (see I. 422), his chief oracle being at Ekron, "where answers seem to have been obtained from the hum and motions of flies" (Sayce, *Bible and the Monuments*). In *P. L.* he ranks next to Satan (see I. 79—81, v. 671, note), and in Marlowe's *Faustus*, vi. 92, Lucifer (i.e. Satan) speaks of him as "my companion-prince in hell." Perhaps this notion that he was one of the chief of the infernal powers was due to the rendering of *Mat.* xii. 24, where the title "prince of the devils" is really applied to Beel-zebul, 'Lord of the Heavenly Height.'

301, 302. Scan *aspect*, as often in M. and Shak.; cf. v. 733, vi. 450. Newton quotes 2 *Hen. VI.* I. I. 75, "Brave peers of England, pillars of the state." *front*, brow, Lat. *frons*; cf. *Hamlet*, III. 4. 56.

304. *counsel*; he is great as statesman, not as warrior.

305. *majestic*, qualifying 'face.'

306. *Atlantean*, worthy of Atlas, one of the Titans, who as a punishment for making war on Zeus was condemned to bear heaven on his shoulders. Cf. Spenser, sonnet to Lord Burleigh:

"As the wide compasse of the firmament
On Atlas mighty shoulders is upstayd."

"The myth seems to have arisen from the idea that lofty mountains supported the heaven" (*Class. Dict.*).

309. *thus he spake*; and what he says sweeps on one side the main arguments of the previous speakers. 'War,' he urges, recognising their true position, 'with the Almighty (such as Moloch counsels), *that* is ridiculous: peace (such as Belial and Mammon dream of), *that* is not to be hoped for: suffer we must and shall, but suffering may be lightened by revenge—and that of a subtler kind than Moloch proposes (105).' The speech of each deity is carefully differentiated, and consistent with his character.

311, 312. *these titles*, see I. 737. *style*, title, appellation; cf. 2 *Hen.* VI. I. 3. 51, "a queen in title and in style."

313. *for so*; alluding to the applause which Mammon had (284).

315. In the original eds. 'doubtless' has a semicolon before and after, i.e. it is a parenthetic sarcasm: 'build up here an empire—as is so *very* likely!' Some remove the second semicolon and read "doubtless while we dream" = 'while we dream undisturbed by any doubt.'

324. "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last," *Rev.* i. 11; also chaps. xxi. 6, xxii. 13. Same reference v. 165. Cf. Jonson, *Masque of Augurs*, "Jove is that one, whom first, midst, last you call." *highth or depth*, Heaven or Hell.

327, 328. "That golden sceptre which thou didst reject
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience;"

so Abdiel warns Satan, v. 886–88. In each case there is an allusion to *Ps.* ii. 9, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron" (repeated *Rev.* ii. 27). The distinction between iron typifying hostility and gold typifying benevolence is part of the symbolism in which M. delights. Cf. *Lyc.* 110, 111, where St Peter bears "two massy keys"—the golden admitting to Heaven, the iron excluding. A rod of gold, 'the Rod of Equity,' is among the regalia of the English Crown.

those, his loyal subjects, the angels who had not rebelled with Satan.

330. *determined*, made an end of us, i.e. crushed us. Cf. vi. 318, xi. 227. Shak. used 'determine' as an intrans. verb = 'to end,' cf. *Coriol.* III. 3. 43, "must all determine here?" and v. 3. 120.

332. *vouchsafed*; First Ed. *voutsafed*, as always; rightly retained by those who think that M. wished to avoid *ch* before *s* in 'vouchsafe.'

336. *to*, to the best of; cf. *Winter's Tale*, v. 2. 182, "I will prove so [i.e. valiant] to my power," and *Coriolanus*, II. 1. 262.

337. *untamed*, not to be tamed. *reluctance*, resistance, see G.

341. *want*, be wanting.

345—51. See 830, I. 650—54, note. *fame*=Lat. *fama* in lit. sense 'report'; cf. I. 651, Bacon, *Essay* xv., "as if fames were the relics of seditions past," and again, "these fames are a sign of trouble."

351—53. This seems to me inconsistent with Raphael's account in bk. VII. The 'Argument' there tells us "that God, *after* the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein." And Raphael's words (180—191) appear to imply that this declaration came as news to the angelic host, i.e. had not been preceded by any similar intimation. How then could it have been known to Beëlzebub, one of the outcast?

352, 353. *by an oath*. Cf. v. 607, *Gen.* xxii. 16, "By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD," *Isai.* xlv. 23. *that shook*; cf. *Æn.* ix. 106, *et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum*—itself from Homer, *Il.* i. 530, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον, and echoed by Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, 35—37, "Assumes the god,...And seems to shake the spheres." Epic poetry has its conventions and formulas, handed down from Homer to Vergil, from Vergil to the Italian poets, and so forth.

367. *puny*, see G.

375. First Ed. has 'originals,' which shews that 'original'=originator, parent (i.e. Adam). Cf. *Church Gov.*, "run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their original," *P. W.* II. 449, and *Midsummer N. D.* II. i. 117, "We are their parents and original." Some explain it='earliest condition, primitive state.'

376—78. *advise*, consider; see G. *or to*, i.e. whether it is better to. *vain empires*, such as Mammon foreshadowed.

379, 380. *devised by Satan*, see I. 650—54.

382, 383. *confound*, utterly ruin. *one root*, Adam (1 *Cor.* xv. 22).

384, 385. See *Appen.* p. 147 on "Satan's motives etc.," and cf. Raphael's warning that Satan would plot Adam's fall, "As a despite done against the Most High" (VI. 905, 906).

387. *States*, often used by Shak. of a body of representatives or parliament; cf. *Troilus*, IV. 5. 65, "hail, all you states of Greece," and 2 *Hen. IV.* v. 2. 142, "we will accite [summon] all our states." So here; cf. phrase 'estates of the realm,' and *états* in French.

391. *synod*, meeting, assembly; cf. VI. 156, XI. 67; Gk. σύν + ὁδός.

397—402. In later times, according to tradition, some of the outcast angels do become 'Spirits of air,' and dwell in "mild seats" of the middle region of air. See *Appen.* pp. 148—150.

404. *tempt*, try, essay, Lat. *temptare*.

406, 407. *obscure*, obscurity: "palpable obscure" = "palpable darkness," XII. 188, i.e. "darkness which may be felt," *Exod.* x. 21. Drayton had used the phrase "darkness palpable," and the *Preface* to the A.V. speaks of "thick and palpable clouds of darkness." Without doubt, the original of all these passages was *Exod.* x. 21 in the Vulgate—*tenebræ tam densæ ut palpari queant*. (From Newton.) Lat. *palpare* = to stroke, feel. *uncouth*, strange, see G.

409. *vast abrupt*, the gulf between Hell and the World.

arrive, arrive at, reach: "if our things here below arrive him where he is," *Martin Bucer*, *P. W.* III. 282; so *Julius Caesar*, I. 2. 110, "But ere we could arrive the point proposed." In Elizabethan E. this omission of the preposition with verbs of 'motion' is common (Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, pp. 132, 133).

410. *The...isle*, i.e. the Universe of this World, hung (1051) in Chaos, which is a kind of "sea" (1011): hence the peculiar fitness of comparing Satan, as he journeys through Chaos, to a vessel making for its port (1041—44). See again III. 76.

412, 413. *senteries*, so original eds., and metre requires the form (no more irregular than *sentry*, a corruption of *sentinel*). Perhaps 'sentry' was due to the notion that it = Fr. *sentier*, a path, Lat. *senita*. *stations* = Lat. *stationes*, guards, pickets.

413. *had*, would have.

415. *Choice*, care in selecting by vote some one to send.

418. *suspense*, in suspense.

423. *astonished*, see G. *prime*, chief, Lat. *primi*.

425. *hardy*, bold. *proffer*, offer himself, volunteer.

427—29. *Appen.* p. 146. *unmoved*, calm, not 'astonished.'

430. With this speech cf. *P. R.* I. 44—105. The scenes are similar. In each case Satan undertakes a design from which his followers shrink—here against Mankind, there against Christ. And there he reminds them how he alone faced the former danger, and argues that, having succeeded once, he will succeed again.

431. *demur*, hesitation.

432, 433. An echo of *Æn.* VI. 126—129, where the Sibyl tells Æneas that the descent into Avernus is easy: "But to return, and view the cheerful skies, In this the task and mighty labour lies" (Dryden). The slow monosyllabic rhythm and the alliteration seem intended by Milton to suggest the laborious effort of ascent.

434—37. See 643—48. *convex*; if we interpret it of the vaulted

roof alone, then it should be 'concave' (cf. 635), Satan being *inside*; but perhaps *convex*=circle. Hell is a dungeon ringed round with "bounds" of flame (I. 61, 62); and when Satan says "*this convex*" he points not merely to the roof, but to the fires on all sides.

438. *the void profound*=Lucretius' *inane profundum*. For the adjective *profound* used as a noun ('depth, abyss') cf. 97, note.

439. *unessential Night*, i.e. having no substance or being. *essence* = Lat. *essentia* (from *esse*) = Gk. *οὐσία* (or *τὸ ὄν*, that which really exists). Night, he means, is a mere vacuity (932).

441. *abortive*, monstrous, because unnatural, i.e. born prematurely. He speaks of the gulf as though it were some monstrosity horrible through premature birth. Others say 'rendering abortive.'

443. *remains*, awaits; for the singular verb see I. 139, note.

448. *moment*, importance. Cf. "of great moment," *Hamlet*, III. 1. 86; "of no moment," 3 *Henry VI.* I. 2. 22.

450. *Me*; purposely emphatic by position.

452. *refusing*, if I refuse: honours and dangers go together.

457. *intend*, consider; see G.

461. *deceive*, beguile; cf. Cowper, "to deceive the time, not waste it." So Lat. *decipere*—e.g. in Horace's *dulci laborum decipitur sono*= is beguiled into forgetting his troubles (*Od.* II. 13. 38).

462. *mansion*, see I. 268.

467. *prevented*, anticipated, forestalled; see G.

468. *raised*, encouraged; agreeing with 'others;' cf. 521.

470. *erst*, before, cf. I. 360; A. S. *ærest*, superl. of *ær*, soon.

471. *opinion*, public opinion, reputation.

474. Cf. I. 274—78, and v. 705, 706.

478. *awful*, full of awe, respect; cf. *Nat. Ode*, 59, note.

483—85. i.e. "Let not bad men set much store by those casual acts of seeming nobleness to which glory or ambition may doubtless spur even the worst of them; for neither have that other class of evil beings...lost such virtue as this" (Masson).

485. *close*, secret—often in Shak. Cf. Cotgrave, "Secret: Secret inward, privie, close." *varnished with*, speciously hidden by.

488—95. This simile is typical of many in Milton: similes classical in manner, more like Vergil's than Shakespeare's. The peculiarity is that he works the simile out, in all its bearings, into a picture complete in itself but rather detached from the context. Cf. I. 768—75.

489. *while the North-wind sleeps*=Homer's *ὅππ' εὐδῆσι μένος Βορέας* (*Il.* v. 522), "that wind generally...dispersing clouds" (Newton).

490, 491. *element*, sky; see G. *landskip*, see G.

492. *If chance*, if it chances that; cf. "how chance?" *Comus*, 508.

495. *rings*, for the singular verb cf. 443.

501. Dr Bradshaw notes that the phrase 'to levy war' (see XI. 219), which Johnson censured, was a technical term found in legal documents and statutes. He cites from one of Barrow's *Sermons* (May 29, 1676), "those in the late times who, instead of praying for their sovereign,... did raise tumults, and levy war against him." Add Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, II. 1, "must we levy war against the Queen's Grace?" Commonly 'levy' is used—and was (cf. Shak. often)—of raising troops.

503. *to accord*, to agree among ourselves.

508. *Paramount*, lord, chief; see G.

512. *globe*, compact band—cf. *P. R.* IV. 581; Lat. *globus* is used similarly of a close mass of men. *Seraphim*; see G.

513. *emblazonry*, i.e. shields 'emblazoned' (see I. 538) or figured with designs. *horrent*, bristling (see 63 and I. 563, note).

514. Only the great angels had taken part in the council (I. 792—97); the others were awaiting its result. *session*, sitting, council.

515. *trumpet's*, see I. 754, note.

516. i.e. towards the four quarters of the compass; cf. III. 326, and see *Ezekiel* xxxvii. 9, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain."

517, 518. *alchymy*, the trumpets made of alchymy. Misunderstanding the use of 'alchymy' (see G.), Bentley proposed 'Orichalc'; Gk. *ὀρείχαλκος*, Lat. *orichalcum* (cf. *Æn.* XII. 87), yellow copper ore, and the brass made therefrom. *harald*, see I. 752.

522. *ranged*, assembled in ranks.

526. *entertain*, pass, while away; cf. *Argument*, "to entertain the time," a phrase used by Shak.; cf. *Lucrece*, 1361, "The weary time she cannot entertain," and *Sonnet*, 39. The picture of the angels variously employed recalls (? was inspired by) Vergil's description of the souls of the blessed in Elysium with their diversions, *Æn.* VI. 640 *et seq.*

528—32. These "heroic games" (IV. 551, a similar scene) are Milton's counterpart to the Trojan sports, *Æn.* V. 577 *et seq.*, and those of the Myrmidons, withheld from war, *Iliad* II. 773 *et seq.*: whence too Pope's mock-heroic contests in the *Dunciad* II.

528. *sublime*=Lat. *sublimis* in the literal sense 'aloft,' 'uplifted'; cf. *P. R.* IV. 542, "through the air sublime."

530. Two of the great festivals of Greece were the *Olympic* games held every fifth year at Olympia, a small plain of *Elis* (cf. next

note); and the *Pythian* at Delphi in honour of Apollo (the Pythian god).

531, 532. "Part curb the foaming steed," XI. 643, i.e. in horse-races. *or shun*; alluding (cf. *Areopagifica*, P. W. II. 68) to Horace, *Od.* I. I. 4, *metaque fervidis evitata rotis*, i.e. in chariot-races. To the chariot-races at Olympia M. refers in his sixth *Elegy* 26 (*volat Eleo pulvere fuscus eques*) in the lines on Pindar. *brigads*, see I. 675.

533. Keightley and Masson think that the *Aurora Borealis* is meant. *to warn*; because considered omens.

534. Newton quotes I *Henry IV.* I. I. 10, "like the meteors of a troubled heaven."

535. *van*, vanguard; Fr. *avant-garde*.

536. *prick*, ride; see G. *couch*; see G.

537, 538. *feats*, see 124. *welkin*, sky; see G.

539. *Typhæan*, see I. 199.

540. *ride the air*; *Macbeth*, IV. I. 138; see 662, note.

542. *Alcides*, Hercules, grandson of Alcæus. The story, as commonly told, was: Hercules, returning to Trachis from Cæchia where he had killed Eurytus (cf. Ovid, *victor ab Cæchia*, *Met.* IX. 135), landed at Cenæum, the N.W. promontory of Eubœa, and sent Lichas, his companion, to Trachis to fetch a white robe wherein to sacrifice to Zeus; Deianira, his wife, sent instead a robe dipped in what she thought to be a love-potion that would make Hercules true to her: the potion was a poison, and when Hercules put the robe on it ate into his flesh, and could not be removed: in his agony he hurled (i.e. from Cenæum) Lichas into the sea, and himself afterwards ascended Mt Ceta in Thessaly, raised a pile of wood, and was burnt thereon. The story forms the subject of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*; told also by Ovid, *Met.* IX., whom M. follows closely. There is a fine application of it in *S. A.* 1038, 1039 (see Pitt Press ed.), where an ill-matched wife is likened to "a cleaving curse" to her husband.

Cæchia, a town in Thessaly. First Ed. *Ocalia*.

543. *envenomed*, because steeped by Deianira in the blood of the Centaur Nessus, whom Hercules had slain with a poisoned arrow. Cf. M. in *In Obitum Procanel.* 9, 10 (alluding to same story). *ferus Hercules* | *Nessi venenatus cruore*.

545. *Lichas*; see *The Merchant of Venice*, II. I. 32—35.

546. *Euboic sea*, between Eubœa and the mainland.

546—55. Heywood says of the infernal angels, "in Musicke they are skill'd" (*Hierarchie*, p. 441). *enthrall*, enslave; see G.

552. *partial*, prejudiced—in favour of themselves.

554. *suspended*, held rapt, thrilled. *took*, enchanted; see G.

557. Cf. Scott's happy allusion—"others apart sat on a bench retired, and reasoned highly on the doctrines of crime" (describing the lawyers at the trial of Effie Dean, *Heart of Midlothian*).

558—69. Contrast *Com.* 476—80 ("How charming is divine Philosophy" etc.), and cf. *S. A.* 300 *et seq.*, *P. R.* iv. 286 *et seq.*, where Greek philosophies are sneered at.

559, 560. M. is inclined to ridicule the angels for discussing such subjects: yet himself could not resist the pleasure of discoursing on free-will and predestination, not only in *Christian Doct.* (*P. W.* iv. 43—77), but even in *P. L.*—cf. III. 96—128, v. 524—34.

564, 565. Referring, I doubt not, primarily to the Stoics, whose philosophy he condemns in *P. R.* iv. 300 *et seq.*: 'apathy' (Gk. ἀ-, not + παθεῖν, to suffer) signifying in their system insensibility to suffering, hence freedom from 'passion' (see I. 605) or feeling—i.e. a passionless existence, "contemning all," *P. R.* iv. 304.

568, 569. Horace, *Od.* I. 3. 9, *illi robur et æs triplex | circa pectus erat*, where *æs*, like 'steel' here, is figurative.

obdured, hardened; cf. vi. 785.

570. *gross*, dense, compact.

571, 572. *wide*, far and wide. *clime*, region; see I. 242.

575, 576. In the main this picture of the infernal rivers is modelled on the classics—cf. *Æneid* vi. But M. has added some details e.g. the making of four rivers unite in the burning lake. Note that he refers to the meaning of each river's name. *baleful*, see G.

577. *Styx*; from *στυγεῖν*, to hate, abhor; chief river of nether world, round which it flowed "with *nine* (see 645) circling streams" (Dryden) = *noviens Styx interfusa* (*Æn.* vi. 439).

578. *Acheron* = ὁ ἄχρα ῥέων, 'the stream of woe.'

579, 580. *Cocytus*; Gk. κωκυτός, wailing, from κωκύειν, to wail. Cf. Fairfax iv. 8, "Swift Cocytus stay'd his murmur shrill."

580, 581. *Phlegethon*; φλεγέθων, flaming; also called 'Pyriphlegethon'; waves of fire (Gk. πῦρ), not water, flowing in its 'torrent.'

583. *Lethe*; Gk. λήθη, a forgetting. "A river in the lower world was called Lethe. The souls of the departed drank of this river, and thus forgot all they had said or done in the upper world" (*Class. Dict.*). Cf. Fairfax xv. 17, "the *silent streams* of Lethe flood," and Dryden, *Æn.* vi. 957, "The gliding Lethe leads her *silent flood*," and 968, "In Lethe's lake they long *oblivion* taste." There is extant a copy of

Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* with MS. notes pronounced by some to be by Milton, and over against a description of this river are written the words, "They who drinke of Lethe never think of love or ye world."

589. *dire hail*; Horace's *jam satis...diræ grandinis*, *Od.* I. 2. 1, 2.

591. i.e. ruin of some ancient building; cf. "pile high-built," *S. A.* 1069. *all else*, so original eds.

592, 593. Lake Serbonis (now dried up) lay on the coast of Lower Egypt, separated from the sea by a narrow strip of sand (*Herod.* III. 5); close to Mt Casius (παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὅρος τέλvet, *Herod.* II. 6), but rather E. than W. of it as Milton implies. *Damiata*, now Damietta, on easternmost mouth of Nile (it has been identified with Pelusium). Cf. *Orlando Fur.* xv. 48, "Then went Alfonso to the banks of Nile, To Damyat a citie thereabout" (*Harington*); and *Fairfax, Tasso*, xv. 16, "[Passed] Damiata next, where they behold How to the sea his tribute Nilus pays." M. may have introduced the name because of its occurrence in these Italian poems.

594. Primarily from *Diodorus Siculus* (I. 30. 4), who says of the Σιρβωνίς λίμνη—πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγροούντων τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ τόπου μετὰ στρατευμάτων ὄλων ἠφανίσθησαν. How this happened, *Sandys' Relation* shows: the Lake, he says (and he had been there), was "bordred on each side with hils of sand, which being borne into the water by the winds so thickened the same, as not by the eye to be distinguished from a part of the Continent: by means whereof whole armies have bin devoured. For the sands neere-hand seeming firme, a good way entred slid farther off, and left no way of returning, but with a lingring cruelty swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called *Barathrum*....Close to this standeth the mountaine Cassius (no other than a huge mole of sand)," p. 137. Seemingly, the only historical basis of this story is the fact that when Darius Ochus, the Persian, invaded Egypt he lost part of his troops in the lake.

594, 595. *parching*, used of drying, withering effect of cold (cf. *Lyc.* 13, "parching wind") or heat (cf. XII. 636). *frore*, frosty, see *G. cold...fire*; Newton aptly quotes *Ecclus.* xliii. 21, "The cold north wind...burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire;" and *Vergil, Georgic* I. 93, *ne...frigus adurat*. The *r...r* sound may be meant to suggest shuddering.

596—603. "This idea of making the pains of Hell consist in cold as well as heat [i.e. by alternations] was current in the Middle Ages... it seems to have come from the Rabbin [Jewish commentators], for they make the torments of Gehenna to consist of fire and of frost and

snow" (Keightley). Cf. Dante, *Inferno* III. 86, 87, where Charon says, "Woe to you, depraved spirits! I come to lead you...into the eternal darkness, into fire and ice" (Carlyle), and *Purg.* III. 31, 32, "To suffer torments both of heat and cold that Power ordains" (A. J. Butler). I find the idea worked out in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory on Earth*, 22, and in the *Faust-book* (1587), where Mephistophiles describes Hell to Faustus in a passage closely resembling these lines: also, when Faustus is suffered to visit Hell, out of curiosity, he finds there "a most pleasant, clear and cold water; into the which many tormented souls sprang out of the fire to cool themselves, but being so freezing cold, they were constrained to return again into the fire, and thus wearied themselves and spent their endless torments out of one labyrinth into another, one while in heat, another while in cold," Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. pp. 194, 212 (see *Appen.* p. 139). The notion was known to Shakespeare; see *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 121 *et seq.*

596, 597. *harpy-footed*, with feet like the talons of Harpies (hideous winged creatures, with hooked claws, *uncæ manus*—see *Æn.* III. 211—18, *P. R.* II. 403). *haled*=*hauled*, dragged; in First Ed. *hail'd*, i.e. summoned—a possible reading. *revolutions*, i.e. of time.

600. *starve*, afflict, perish with cold. O. E. *steruen*=to perish, die.

604. *sound*, strait; akin to *swim*, since A. S. *sund*=‘a strait of the sea that could be swum across;’ cf. *Com.* 115, “sounds and seas.”

611. *Medusa*, one of the three Gorgons (see 628); her hair being changed into serpents by Athene (cf. “snaky-headed Gorgon,” *Com.* 447), her appearance became so terrible that all who looked at her were changed into stone.

612—14. According to legend, Tantalus, for divulging the secrets of Zeus, was “punished in the lower world by being afflicted with a raging thirst, and at the same time placed in the midst of a lake, the waters of which always receded from him as soon as he attempted to drink them” (*Class. Dict.*). See allusion *S. A.* 500, 501.

613. *wight*, person, being; a word (belonging more to popular ballad poetry) that Shak. seems to ridicule; cf. Pistol’s use of it, *Merry Wives*, I. 3. 23, 40, *Hen. V.*, II. 1. 64. Really same as *whit* (where *h* is misplaced). A. S. *wiht*=creature.

615, 616. See I. 733, note. *p. 103*

617. *first*, for the first time.

620. *Alp*, see G.

621. The number of monosyllables suggests variety i.e. of scenery.

625. *prodigious*, unnatural, monstrous.

628. Cf. x. 524 (for rhythm), *Com.* 517 ("dire Chimeras and enchanted isles"). Hesiod mentions three *Gorgons*, daughters of Phorcys, monsters with wings and brazen claws, and hissing serpents, instead of hair, on their heads (see 611). The Lernean *Hydra* was a serpent with nine heads that ravaged the country near Argos; slain by Hercules (his 2nd 'labour'). In *Of Reformation* M. has the phrase "a continual hydra of mischief and molestation," *P. W.* II. 411. The *Chimera* was a fire-breathing monster, *πρόσθε λέων, ὀπίθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα* (*Il.* vi. 181), i.e. part lion, part dragon, part goat. Perhaps M. mentions these three monsters together because Vergil (*Æn.* vi. 287—89) and Tasso (Fairfax IV. 5) had done the same.

634. *shaves*, skims; cf. *radit iter liquidum*, Verg. *Æn.* v. 217.

635. *concave*, roof, see 434. Bentley omitted everything from "towering" to "fiend" 643 (inclusive), as "silly and pedantical." Note how fully the simile is worked out, beyond the precise point of comparison (see 488, note): how also the proper names convey an impression of mysterious remoteness (see I. 582).

637—40. *hangs*, i.e. seems to the distant spectator to be in the clouds. *equinoctial winds*, "the trade-winds, which blow from east to west at the time of the equinoxes" (Bradshaw); afterwards (640) M. transfers 'trading' from the wind to the sea. *close*, i.e. together, so as to form, seen from far, a single object—like the single figure of Satan. M. had in his mind's eye a fleet of East Indiamen (Newton).

638. *Bengala*, a relic of the old form *Bangālā*=Bengal. In Hexham's ed. of *Mercator's Atlas* the bay of Bengal is marked '*Golfo di Bengala*' in the map of Asia. Some of our earliest trading-settlements were along the Bengal coast (cf. 2, note).

639. *Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Moluccas or '*Spice Islands*' in the Malay Archipelago, close together. Hexham describes the '*Molluccoes*' as "famous throughout the world, in regard of the abundance of all sorts of sweete *spices*, but especially for the Cloues which come from them...*Tidor* and *Ternate* are the principallest" (*Il.* 423, 424).

640. *they*, the ships. *flood*; used similarly of the sea by Shakespeare, e.g. in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 127, "Marking the embarked traders on the flood."

641. There seems to be an error here on Milton's part. A glance at the map (but let us remember that *he* could not see one) will show that he uses "the wide Ethiopian" (i.e. sea)=the Indian Ocean—

that is, the ocean *east* of Africa. But was the term so applied? In Hexham's *Mercator*, in the map of Africa, I find the name *Oceanus Æthiopicus* given to the sea *west* of Africa—what we call the 'South Atlantic;' and in the letterpress the terms 'Æthiopicke Ocean,' 'Æthiopicke Sea,' are always used so. The same is the case in Heylin's map of Africa; while, speaking of the Atlantic, he says, "some parts hereof, which wash the *Westerne* Shores of *Æthiopia Inferior*, be called the Æthiopicke Ocean" (*Cosmog.* Lib. iv. 71). Both authorities therefore are against Milton, and one can scarce do else than conclude that the title 'Ethiopian' really belonged to the South Atlantic (or *western* sea), not to the Indian Ocean (or *eastern* = *Oceanus Orientalis* in *Mercator*). In maps of the 17th century Ethiopia is the name of a region of Southern Africa: hence 'Ethiopian' as a title of the sea that washed its—western?—coasts.

641, 642. *Cape*, of Good Hope. *stemming*, pressing forward, i.e. breasting the waves; cf. *Julius C.* i. 2. 109. *the pole*, the South Pole.

643—48. Cf. 434—37. Nine is a sacred number; see 577, note, and i. 50. *impaled*, encircled; cf. *paling*, *pale*. The double alliteration (*i...i* and *p...p*) has a fine effect of emphasis.

648. The basis of the allegory of Sin and Death lies—appropriately—in Scripture: "Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death," *James* i. 15. In ix. 12 Death is called the 'shadow' of Sin, and in the poem we never meet with them apart. How far M. means us to read an allegorical meaning into his description is hard to say. I cannot, e.g., think with Keightley that the "yelling monsters" (795) should be regarded as typifying "the mental torments that are the consequence of sin." To me they seem to be introduced—without any allegorical intent whatever—partly because they intensify the element of mere horror, partly for the sake of the literary parallel. On the other hand, the "mortal sting" is plainly symbolical; cf. i *Cor.* xv. 56. A strain therefore of allegory is present: individual judgment must say where.

650. *the one*. Milton's figure of Sin is own sister to Spenser's Error (*F. Q.* i. i. 14, 15) and Phineas Fletcher's Hamartia or Sin (*Purple I.* xii. 27—cf. also his *Apollyonists*, 1627, i. 10 *et seq.*): their common origin being the classical accounts of Scylla, notably Ovid's (*Met.* xiv.) and Vergil's (*Æn.* iii. 424 *et seq.*). It is therefore as a 'study' in a familiar style, not as a fresh creation, that the picture should be viewed: comparison it challenges—and bears; originality it does not claim. So with his figure of Death (see 666, note).

651, 652. So Hesiod describes Echidna, *Theogony* 298.

voluminous; perhaps with the literal sense 'in rolls or folds' (Lat. *volumen*, from *volvere*, to roll); cf. Pope, *Windsor Forest*, "The silver eel in shining volumes roll'd."

654—56. *cry*, pack; see G. *Cerberian*, as of Cerberus, the many-headed dog that guarded the entrance to Hades. *list*, wished, chose.

659—61. According to the legend, Circe threw magic herbs into the waters where Scylla bathed, so that she was changed in the way M. implies. *abhorred*, to be abhorred. *Calabria*, in South Italy. *Trinacria*, Sicily, so called from its triangular shape.

662. *the night-hag*; probably Hecate, goddess of sorcery, is meant; cf. *Macbeth*, III. 5 (from which M. quotes in *Comus*, 1017), especially l. 20, where Hecate says, "I am for the air," meaning that she will "ride through the air." See *Comus*, 135.

called, i.e. invoked to take part in rites; cf. *Macbeth*, III. 5. 8 and 34 ("Hark! I am call'd").

664. *infant blood*; alluding to an ancient superstition. When the witches in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* assemble and relate what they have been doing, one says: "Under a cradle I did creep, By day; and when the child was asleep, At night I sucked the breath;" whereto the next: "I had a dagger: what did I with that? Killed an infant." In the footnote Jonson adds, "Their killing of infants is common... Sprenger reports that a witch confessed to have killed above forty infants...which she had offered to the devil;" and then he cites authorities, e. g. Horace, *Epod.* v. and Lucan, *Phars.* vi. Cf., perhaps, *Macbeth*, IV. 1. 30. *to dance*, like the witches in *Macbeth*; cf. IV. 1. 132, stage-direction, "The Witches dance, and then vanish, with Hecate." So Jonson makes his witches, in the midst of their rites, fall "into a sudden magical dance"—commenting that this is in accordance with tradition (*Masque of Queens*). Upon the significance of the custom, see Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, II. 133.

665. *Lapland* was traditionally a home of witchcraft; cf. Burton's *Anatomy*, I. II. 1, 2 ("Digression of Spirits"), and Shak., *Comedy of E.* IV. 3. 11, "Lapland sorcerers." Heylin calls the Laplanders "great sorcerers" (*Cosmog.* II. 122). Their chief instrument of divination was an oval cylinder or drum figured with various designs, notably of the moon and heavenly bodies. See "Regnard's Journey to Lapland" (1681), which contains a full account of the 'sorcerers' and their incantations; also the narrative of Leems (1767)—on the "Magic Arts of the Laplanders" (both in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, 1803, vol. 1.).

665, 666. The belief that the moon (see I. 785, 786, note) and heavenly bodies are affected by magic is very old and widespread. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* II. xii. 1, "As for the Moone, mortall men imagine that by Magicke sorcerie, and charms, she is inchaunted" (Holland I. 9). The superstition has two main aspects: (i) the moon may be 'drawn down'; cf. *deducere lunam*, Verg. *Ecl.* VIII. 69, *trahere lunam*, Ovid, *Met.* VII. 197—with Horace, *Epod.* v. 45, 46, XVII. 57, 58, Martial, *Ep.* IX. 30. So in Marlowe's *Faustus*, III. 38, the Doctor claims that Mephistophiles must do "whatever Faustus shall command, Be it to make the moon drop from her sphere." See also next note. (ii) The moon may be 'eclipsed'—as here—i.e. made to hide her light; cf. Greene's *Friar Bacon*, II. 48, where Bacon says that he can "dim fair Luna to a dark eclipse" (with XI. 14—16). So Fairfax IX. 15, "The moon and stars for fear of sprites were fled," and XIII. 9, "At those strange speeches [incantations]...The feeble moon her silver beams retires."

labouring; cf. Cowper (translating Milton's Italian sonnet to Diodati), "And from her sphere draw down the labouring moon." So Lat. *labores*=eclipse, *laborare*, to suffer eclipse. Cf. Verg. *G.* II. 478, *defectus solis varios, lunæque labores*.

666. *the other*, see 650, note. Joseph Warton thought that M. owed the "person of Death" to the *θάνατος* of Eurip. *Alcestis*. But Death as a personified figure had been described by Spenser (*F. Q.* VII. 7. 46), and introduced (as Todd noted) in 'Morality' and early Elizabethan plays. I daresay too that a similar allegorical presentment might be found in some popular *Book of Emblems*, or in the famous wood-cuts, *The Dance of Death* (1538). In any case we must remember that the tendency to personify (fostered by the very important influence of the Masque) was a characteristic of early 17th century poetry.

670. Cf. Homer's *ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ ἐοικώς*, *Od.* XI. 605 (Newton).

672. The 'dart' of Death, a symbol of the force by which humanity is laid low, is mentioned, XI. 491. *what seemed*; purposely vague—the more effective (cf. IV. 990). In his fine criticism of this passage Coleridge notes how the abstract vagueness of such description appeals to the imagination with a subtle force which concrete, more clearly defined, imagery would lack altogether.

673. *kingly crown*; *Job* xviii. 14, *Rev.* vi. 2.

677. *admired*, wondered; see G.

678, 679. Strictly, the construction includes "God and his Son" among "created things,"—but the sense is clear.

686, 687. *taste*, i.e. its effects.

688. *Goblin*, demon, evil spirit; see G.

692, 693. See *Rev.* xii. 4, and cf. v. 710 ("Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host"), vi. 156. In ix. 141, 142 Satan boasts that his followers were "well-nigh half" the angels. Their number was a point of dispute among the School-men. *conjured*, see G.

695. *waste*, spend, pass; cf. *The Tempest*, v. 302.

701. Cf. i *Kings* xii. 11, "I will chastise you with scorpions." *whip of scorpions*, a metaphor for a severe scourge.

706. *deform*=Lat. *deformis*, hideous, unsightly.

706—711. Cf. iv. 985 *et seq.* (Satan's meeting with Gabriel).

708. The comparison of a warrior clad in armour to a comet is at least as old as the *Æneid* (x. 272, 273), and is finely employed by Tasso. The vast scale of the simile here conveys a profound impression of Satan's majesty.

709. *Ophiuchus*, a constellation of the northern (cf. "arctic") hemisphere, consisting of some 80 stars and extending about forty degrees in length: lit. 'the Serpent-holder,' from Gk. *ὄφις*, a snake and *ἔχειν*; Lat. *Anguitenens* or *Serpentarius*; cf. Heywood's *Hierarchy*, "The Serpentarius (Ophiuchus who Is also call'd) the Astrologians show To be a young man rounded with a snake, Stucke full of starry lights" (p. 124). I find an apt illustration of the whole passage in Henry More's *Song of the Soul* (Cambridge ed. 1647, p. 210):

"Ye flaming comets wandering on high,
And new-fixt starres found in that Circle blue,
The one espide in glittering Cassiope,
The other near to Ophiuchus high."

710, 711. The appearance of a comet was traditionally held an omen—generally of disaster. Cf. a passage in *Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), viii. 32, curiously like this: "*Cometa* is a starre beclipped with burning gleames...and is sodeinly bred and betokeneth changing of kings, and is a token of *pestilence or of war*...and they spread their beames toward the *North*" (= "arctic sky"). *horrid hair*, i.e. the tail of the comet (= *κομήτης*, long-haired, from *κόμη*, hair). Cf. i *Hen.* vi. 1. 1. 2, 3, "Comets, importing change of times and states, Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky;" and Drummond, "Comets' locks, portending harm and wrath," *Poems*, 1856 ed., p. 239.

711. Cf. the encounter of Michael and Satan in the battle in Heaven, compared to the clash of two planets, vi. 310—19.

715, 716. Cf. Dryden, "Lightning and thunder (*heaven's artillery*)

As harbingers before th' Almighty fly." But the phrase was common, due perhaps to Juvenal XIII. 33. *Caspian*; chosen as typical in poets of a tempestuous region; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso* VI. 38.

717. *a space*, a short while. *the signal*; a metaphor from trumpets sounding a charge.

719. *so*, thus; completing the simile; cf. 947, I. 209, 311, 775 *that*, so that; a constant use in M. Cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 370, 371:

"I'll make thee roar,

That beasts shall tremble at thy din."

721, 722. *foe*, i.e. Christ. See I Cor. xv. 26, *Heb.* ii. 14.

730. *and know'st*, though knowing; in original eds. not a question.

739. *s pares to*, refrains from; cf. Lat. *parcere* followed by infinitive. So M. in prose; cf. *Of Reformation*, "neither doth the author spare to record," *P. W.* II. 411.

746. Phineas Fletcher in his *Apollyonists* has the line, "The Porter to th' infernall gate is *Sin*."

755—58. As Athene sprang from the head of Zeus.

772. *pitch*, height; also used of depth.

787—89. Cf. Vergil, *Georgic* IV. 525—27 (with Pope's imitation, *St Cecilia's Day*, VI.), where the river-banks re-echo the name 'Eurydice'; also Tennyson's *Merlin and Vivien* (end).

795. See 648, note (on the use of allegory here).

803. i.e. on the opposite side of the gate—see 649.

809. So Satan recognises Fate as the highest power (I. 116, note).

813. To *temper* metal is to harden it by cooling after it has been heated; cf. I. 285, VI. 322. *mortal dint*, deadly blow.

815. *lore*, lesson, what he had to learn (*lore* and *learn* cognate). Note the change in his tone; contrast 817, 818 with 744, 755. When in bk. IX. Eve tells (659—63) Satan that she may not touch the forbidden fruit under pain of death, Satan affects (695) not to know what death is. He is 'the father of lies.'

818. *pledge*; cf. the use of Lat. *pignus*.

823. Cf. VI. 877, "Hell...the house of woe and pain."

825. *pretences*, claims—or designs, ambitions; cf. VI. 421.

827. *uncouth*; see G.

829, 830. *unfounded*, bottomless, lit. 'having no base' (Lat. *fundus*). *quest*, search (Lat. *querere*). *foretold*; see 345—53.

832, 833. Contrast 1048. *purlieus*; see G.

836, 837. *surcharged*, overfull. *broils*, turmoils; Fr. *brouiller*.

839—44. Cf. X. 397—409, where after the Temptation Satan bids

Sin and Death make Mankind their prey and the Earth their possession—"There dwell, and reign in bliss," 399.

842. *buxom*, yielding; see G. Cf. v. 270, "winnows the buxom air," and *The Faerie Queene*, I. II. 37, "scourge the buxome aire." The phrase is a reminiscence, as Keightley noted, of Horace's *pete cedentem* ['yielding'] *aera disco* (*Sat.* II. 2. 13). *embalmed*, made fragrant; cf. *balmy*=fragrant, from *balm*=aromatic resin or oil.

847. *maw*, stomach, Germ. *magen*; rather of animals than men.

855. *might*; 3rd ed. *wight* (from 613?).

868. Homer's *θεοὶ πεῖρα ζῶοντες*, *Il.* VI. 138; cf. *Com.* 2-6, and Tennyson, *Ænone*:

"the Gods who have attain'd
Rest in a happy place and quiet seats
Above the thunder, with undying bliss."

869. As the Son sits at the right hand of the Father (v. 606, vi. 892); profane sarcasm, I suppose, is intended.

874. *portcullis*, see G.

883, 884. That Sin cannot close the gates is symbolical.

886. *that*, so that; cf. 719.

889. *redounding*, in clouds, volleys; Lat. *redundare*, to overflow.

890. In this picture of Chaos, to be compared with Ovid's, *Met.* I. 5-20, Milton labours (as Masson notes) to convey to the reader an impression of the utter confusion of the scene described: heaping image on image, idea on idea, by which the imagination may be baffled, and the mind bewildered with an insistent sense of the inconceivable. Take e.g. lines 892-894: each successive notion eludes the fancy. And the rhythm heightens the effect. It is to this part of *P. L.* that M. alludes in III. 16, 18, "Through utter and through *middle* darkness borne,...I sung of Chaos and eternal night:" where I interpret "utter"=the darkness of Hell, as in I. 72, v. 614, and "middle"=that of Chaos, between Hell and Heaven.

891. "One would think the deep to be hoary," *Job* xli. 32.

895, 896. *Nature*, the created Universe. *anarchy*, see 993, note.

898. The four 'elements' are meant; see 274, note, III. 714, 715 (closely parallel); and cf. Dryden, *St Cecilia's Day*, 1-10:

"From harmony, from heav'nly harmony
This universal *frame* [cf. 924] began.
When Nature underneath a heap
Of *jarring atoms* lay,
And could not heave her head,

The tuneful voice was heard from high :

Arise, ye more than dead.

Then *cold and hot and moist and dry*

In order to their stations leap,

And Musick's pow'r obey."

900. *embryon*, embryo ; the common form in Elizabethan E.

903, 904. *unnumbered*, innumerable ; see 23, note. *Barca...Cyrene*, the chief cities of Cyrenaica in northern Africa, a region often treated as typical of sand. Cf. Fairfax XVII. 5, "From Syria's coasts as far as Cirene sands," and the *Taming of a Shrew* (not Shakespeare's), "hew'd thee smaller than the Libian sandes."

905, 906. *levied*, raised (Fr. *lever*), but also with the notion 'to levy troops'—cf. "*warring winds* ;" it qualifies "sands." *poise*, give weight to (Fr. *peser*) ; dependent, like "to side," on "*levied*." *their wings*, i.e. of the winds. *lighter*, which would be too light but for the sand.

906, 907. i.e. the element, or 'champion,' to whom for the moment most atoms cling, is victor. *umpire*, as judge ; see G.

911. As Nature, i.e. the Universe, was born out of Chaos (= "this Abyss"), so may she at last fall back again into Chaos. He is varying an old thought, that all things proceed from Nature and, perishing, pass back into Nature. Cf. *Romeo*, II. 3. 9, 10, "The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb ; What is her burying *grave* that is her *womb* ;" and Tennyson, *Lucretius*, "the womb and tomb of all, Great Nature" (from Lucret. v. 260, *omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulcrum*).

912. Again the 'elements' are meant : "sea"=water, cf. v. 416.

918, 919. i.e. standing looked. *frith*, channel, estuary ; same as *firth* (metathesis of *r* is common) ; akin to *ford*, *fiord*, *ferry*.

920. *pealed*, deafened, dinned ; cf. *S. A.* 235.

921, 922. Cf. Vergil's *parvis componere magna solebam*, *Ecl.* I. 24 ; so VI. 310, 311, X. 306, *P. R.* IV. 563. *Bellona*, goddess of war.

923. *engines* ; probably cannon are meant ; see G.

924. *frame*, fabric, structure ; see G.

927. *vans*, wings, Ital. *vanni* ; see G.

933. *pennons*, i.e. pinions, Lat. *pennæ*. *plumb*, see G.

937. *Instinct*, filled, charged with. *nitre*, saltpetre.

938, 939. *stayed*, having been stopped. *Syrtis*, see G.

940. *fundered*, sunk ; see G. *fares*, journeys ; see G.

941. *consistence*, substance or mixture, of sea and land.

943—47. Cf. Herod. III. 116, "The northern parts of Europe are very much richer in gold than any other region : but how it is procured

I have no certain knowledge. The story runs, that the one-eyed Arimaspi purloin it from the griffins" (Rawlinson); and IV. 13, 27, where he speaks of "the gold-guarding (χρυσοφύλακες) griffins." Pliny (*N. H.* VII. 1) says that these Arimaspi live near the Scythians, "toward the pole Arkticke," and that they "maintaine warre ordinarily about the mettall mines of gold, especially with griffons, a kind of wild beasts that flie, and use to fetch gold out of the veines of those mines: which savage beasts strive as eagerly to keepe and hold those golden mines, as the Arimaspians to disseize them thereof, and to get away the gold from them" (Holland, I. 154). See Lucan, *Pharsal.* III. 280, VII. 756. The legend, which Sir Thomas Browne places among his *Vulgar Errors* III. xi., may have had some connection with the fact that gold is found in the Ural mountains near which the Arimaspi were thought to dwell.

943. *gryphon*, a mythic monster; "sum men seyn that thei han the body upward as an eagle, and benethe as a lyoune....But a griffoun hath the body more gret, and is more strong thanne viij. lyouns, and more gret and strongere than an C (i.e. 100) egles, suche as we han amonges us"—Sir John Mandeville, who knew a country where the 'griffoun' was quite common. Jonson makes it a type of "swiftness and strength," *Masque of Queens*. See G.

945. *Arimaspian*; Herod. (IV. 27) interprets Greek Ἀριμασπός = μουνόφθαλμος, as coming from two Scythian words—ἄριμα = ἕν, 'one,' and σποῦ = ὀφθαλμός, 'eye.' Rawlinson (III. 192) says that ἄριμα = ἴαριμα, and may be cognate with πρῶτος. *primus*, *first*: σποῦ being cognate with Lat. *specular*, *specto* etc.—from root *spic* or *spec*, 'to see.'

948. *dense*, or *rare*, i.e. matter now thick, packed close—now thin; 'dense,' or 'condense' (VI. 353), and 'rare' are exact opposites.

951. *hubbub*, see G.

958, 959. i.e. the nearest way to the point where darkness borders on light. There should be no comma after "hes."

959—67. This picture of the palace of Chaos is as conventional and classical as that of Sin (650, note). Cf. the 'cave of Death,' thronged with personified 'Shapes' of evil and disease (XI. 469—93); or the abode of Murder, on whom attend such abstractions as *Timor*, *Dolus*, *Furor* (*In Quintum Nov.* 138—154). So Spenser describes the palace of Pluto: Payne and Strife at his side: Revenge, Treason, Hate hard by: Care guarding the door (*F. Q.* II. 7. 21—25). Such passages owe their similarity to their common origin, viz. Vergil's account of the realm of Pluto, *Æn.* VI. 273—81. Of ll. 959—63 Pope has a most

felicitous parody in the *Dunciad* iv. (*ad fin.*); see also canto 1. where he makes Dulness the "Daughter of Chaos and eternal Night."

960, 961. *pavilion*, see G. *wasteful deep*, again vi. 862. *wide... wasteful* (= vast, desolate), Milton's favourite form of alliteration. Cf. *Nat. Ode* 51, 64, *Arc.* 47, *Lyc.* 13, and compounds like 'wide-wasting' vi. 253, xi. 487, 'wide-waving' xi. 121, 'wide-watered' *Il Pen.* 75.

962. In Eurip. *Ion*, 1150 μέλαμπελος is said of night.

964. *Orcus, Aides*; Lat. and Greek names of Pluto, god of Hell.

964, 965. *Name of Demogorgon* = Demogorgon himself; a Latinism. *Demogorgon*, a deity supposed to be alluded to by Lucan, *Pharsal.* vi. 744, and said to be first mentioned by name by Lactantius (fourth cent. A.D.): also to be mentioned by Italian writers, Boccaccio, Boiardo, Tasso, and Ariosto. Be all this as it may, Demogorgon was certainly a demon very much 'dreaded.' Spenser makes him the lord of Chaos—"Downe in the bottome of the deepe Abyesse," *Faerie Q.* iv. 2. 47; Marlowe recognizes him as co-ruler with Beelzebub of the nether world, *Faustus*, iii. 18; Greene speaks of "Demogorgon, master of the fates," *Friar Bacon* xi. 110, and "Demogorgon, ruler of the fates," *Orlando Fur.*; and he is an important character in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. Apparently too he is identical with the "Gorgon prince of darkness and dead night" at the sound of whose name "Cocytus quakes and Styx is put to flight" (*F. Q.* i. 1. 37). The name has been considered a corruption of *δημιουργός*; it is at least noticeable that Demogorgon became the patron of alchemists.

966. *all embroiled*, mixed in turmoil together; cf. 837.

967. "A thousand busy tongues the goddess bears"—Pope describing Fame (*Temple of Fame*).

972. *secrets*; perhaps 'secret places,' Lat. *secreta*, as in 891 (Newton).

977. *confine with*, border on; Lat. *cum + finis*, a boundary.

983—86. Cf. iv. 665—67, where Adam tells Eve that the stars shine, "Lest total darkness should by night regain Her old possession."

989. *incomposed*, disturbed, *discomposed* (Lat. *incompositus*).

993—98. "Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roared,

And felt tenfold confusion in their fall

Through his wild *anarchy* [cf. 896]; so huge a rout

Encumbered him with ruin" (vi. 871—74).

1001—5. *Appendix*, p. 138.

1001. *our*, so original eds.; changed by some to *your*. The point of *our* seems to me to be that Chaos thereby proclaims himself an ally with Satan against their common foe—their cause is the same.

1004, 1005. *Heaven*, the sky of this world. *chain*, see 1051.

1006. *Heaven*; here the Empyrean is meant.

1007—1009. Chaos, we see, directs Satan's course, as he had been asked (980), and wishes him good speed. Yet when Satan, after the Temptation, descends to Hell and announces to his followers the result of his mission (x. 460 *et seq.*), he pretends that Chaos had "fiercely opposed" (478) his journey: his object being to exalt himself in their eyes by exaggerating the dangers overcome. Herein are revealed the two great aspects of his character—proud self-esteem (see *Appen.* pp. 145, 146), and duplicity.

1011. In xi. 750 M. likens the waters left by the Flood to a "sea without shore"—imitating Ovid, *Met.* i. 292, *deerrant quoque litora ponto*. So Thomson, describing the Deluge, "A shoreless ocean tumbled round the globe," *Spring*.

1017, 1018. *Argo*, the vessel in which Jason and the 50 Argonauts sailed to Aea (afterwards called Colchis) to fetch the golden fleece. *Bosporus*, the Thracian Bosporus, now Straits of Constantinople; connecting the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) with the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea). At its eastern entrance, i.e. where it opens into the Black Sea, stood two rocks, one on either side, the *Symplegades*, so called (from Gk *συν + πλῆσσειν*, to strike), because when a ship was passing through they clashed together and crushed it. By the advice of the seer Phineus and the help of Hera, the Argonauts managed to pass, and thenceforth the rocks were fixed motionless. Juvenal calls them *concurrentia saxa* (*Sat.* xv. 19), i.e. 'justling' (see G.).

1019, 1020. *Scylla* and *Charybdis* (660) were two rocks, close together, in the Straits of Messina between Italy and Sicily. The currents or 'whirlpools' were so strong that sailors seeking to avoid the one rock were generally driven on the other: whence the proverbial line, from the *Alexandreis* of Philip Gualtier, *incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*. *larboard*, the left side of a ship; Ulysses, by steering to the left, nearer to Scylla, thus avoided Charybdis on his right.

1028. *a bridge*, described x. 293 *et seq.* See *Appen.* p. 139.

1032, 1033. For the thought that Guardian Angels watch over men, see *Com.* 219, 220, 455—69, *S. A.* 1431 (Pitt Press note), and *Christian Doct.* ix., where he deals with the ministry on earth of Angels.

1034. Cf. again ix. 107, "precious beams of sacred influence" (said of the stars), and 192, "when as sacred light began to dawn." *sacred*, "since God is light," III. 3. *influence*, see G.

1042—1044. *wafts*, see G. *holds*, makes for; he is thinking of

Lat. *tenere*, which implies, however, reaching a destination (*portum*, *terram* etc.). Cf. Ovid, *Heroides* XVIII. 198, *et teneant portus naufraga membra tuos*.

1046. *weighs*, balances.

1048. *undetermined*, qualifying 'heaven.' "Its extent was such that from the portion that was seen the eye could not determine whether its margin was straight or curved" (Keightley). See x. 381.

1051. See *Appen.* p. 138. *golden chain*; alluding to Homer's story of the golden chain of Zeus, suspended from Heaven, whereby he can draw up the gods, and the earth and sea, and the whole universe, though they cannot draw him down (*Il.* VIII. 18—27). • Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learn.* III. 2, "that excellent and divine fable of the Golden Chain," *illustris illa et divina de aurea catena fabula*; and Chapman, *Shadow of Night*, "The golden chain of Homer's high device." Plato (*Theaetetus* 153 c) interprets it of the Sun. It is curious to note how poets apply the story. Dryden, in his character of "The Good Parson," says, "For, letting down the golden chain from high, He drew his audience upward to the sky." Pope, speaking of the order and design in nature, says, "Is the great chain that draws all to agree, And drawn supports, upheld by God or thee?" (*Essay on Man* I. 33, 34). Jonson writes of marriage, "Such was the golden chain let down from heaven" (*Masque of Hymen*—see his note); and Tennyson of prayer, "For so the whole round earth is every way Bound by gold chains about the feet of God" (*Morte D'Arthur*).

1052, 1053. i.e. the Universe compared to the Empyrean looked as small as some minor star which being close to the moon's superior light seems insignificant. Cf. Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, v. 1:

"a candle in the sun

Is all but smoke—a star beside the moon

Is all but lost."

pendent world, see 180, note.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*.

PARTS of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology: to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in Book v. that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of Space—Heaven and Chaos (v. 577, 578): Heaven lying above Chaos.

In Book vi. the contest foreshadowed in Book v. has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (vi. 53—55): a gloomy region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from i. 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus: above¹, Heaven; beneath, Hell; between, a great gulf, Chaos.

Let us see what he has to say concerning each.

Heaven, or the Empyrean², is the abode of the Deity and His angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. In x. 380 Milton speaks of its "empyrean bounds;" in ii. 1049 of its "battlements;" in vi. 860 of its "crystal wall."

¹ i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see.

² The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean*=Lat. *empyrium*, from Gk. *ἐμπερος*. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ).

³ Cf. Lucretius' *flammanlia mania mundi* (i. 74) and Gray's "flaming bounds of Space" (*Progress of Poesy*).

These fence Heaven in from Chaos. When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he kens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where runs the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II. 1034 *et seq.*). In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting doors" opening on to Chaos (V. 253—256, VII. 205—209). The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II. 1048); perhaps it is a square (X. 381). Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—576) in Book V. May not the Earth, says Raphael, be "but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought"? Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective presentment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth¹. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common; so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (IX. 99). Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vales, wood-covered heights and plains (VI. 70, 640—646); it is watered by living streams (V. 652); and fair with trees and flowers²—immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III. 353—364), and vines (V. 635). Daylight and twilight are known there (V. 627—629, 645, VI. 2—15). And soft winds fan the angels as they sleep (V. 654, 655).

These angelic beings, divided, according to tradition (see p. 157), into nine Orders, each with particular duties, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII. 149) in the courts of God (V. 650) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII. 148). Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple-services of Israel, now the inspired visions of St John. They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III. 377) on the holy mount (VI. 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space: round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III. 375—382).

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material. But he himself takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—

¹ The Earth deteriorates after the fall of man (X. 651 *et seq.*).

² This is a descriptive detail most conspicuous in early Christian apocalyptic works; see next page.

adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. The truth, I believe, is that he has applied to Heaven the descriptions of 'Paradise' in the apocalyptic literature of the first centuries of Christianity. The *Revelation of Peter* (dating perhaps from early in the second century A.D.) affords an illustration of these descriptions. St Peter is represented as asking our Lord where are the souls of the righteous dead—"of what sort is the world wherein they are and possess glory? And the Lord shewed him [me] a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit: and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us¹ from thence. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land: and angels encircled them²."

His picture of Heaven traditional. —

The second region, for which Chaos seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful Deep" (II. 961, VI. 862), "the utter Deep" (VI. 716), and "the Abyss" (I. 21, VII. 211, 234). Here rules the god of Chaos and his consort Night (II. 959—963). According to the long description in Book II. 890 *et seq.*, this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state, "neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire." Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII. 210—214 the Messiah and His host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos; and what they behold is an Abyss "Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild."

¹ i.e. St Peter and the other disciples who are with our Lord on the Mount of Olives. See *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (Cambridge University Press ed., 1892), pp. 48, 49.

² Mr James (whose version I have just quoted) gives a similar passage from a rather later work, the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, wherein the Paradise of the just is revealed in a vision as "a plain of vast extent, flourishing with fair and very sweet-smelling flowers, where he saw plants of all manner of kinds, loaded with strange and wondrous fruits, most pleasant to the eye and desirable to touch. And the leaves of the trees made clear music to a soft breeze and sent forth a delicate fragrance, whereof none could tire...And through this wondrous and vast plain [he passed] to a city which gleamed with an unspeakable brightness and had its walls of translucent gold, and its battlements of stones the like of which none has ever seen. And a light from above...filled all the streets thereof: and certain winged hosts, each to itself a light, abode there singing in melodies never heard by mortal ears."

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes the *Description of* fall of the angels¹. It has been prepared for their punish-
Hell.

ment when, after the proclamation in v. 600—615, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the abyss has been taken. In II. 1002 Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath." Round it runs a wall of fire (I. 61); overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I. 298, 345). At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI. 53—55); then the roof closes (VI. 875), and they are prisoners. Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II. 643 *et seq.*). At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II. 853—855). To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates. Afterwards she cannot shut them; and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos. Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant. For the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (I. 52, 221); dry land that burns like fire (I. 227—229); and drear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II. 575 *et seq.*). Here again the picture is traditional, owing, no doubt, much to Dante, who in turn owed much to the apocalyptic descriptions before mentioned.

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created *Description of* (VII. 131 *et seq.*). By "the World" is meant the whole
the World.

Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set—in short, all that the eye of man beholds. The Son of God goes forth into the abyss (VII. 218 *et seq.*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World; so that Chaos

is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments in
Hung in II. 1001—1006). The new World is a globe or hollow
Chaos. sphere, suspended in the abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain (see II. 1051, note) to Heaven. In II. 1004—1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe:

"Another world,

Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain c

To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell."

The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the

¹ Cf. the English *Faust-book* (1592) where Faustus asks when Hell was made and Mephistophiles replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer was no hell, but even then was hell ordained" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 185).

Empyrean, is not stated, I believe; but the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II. 1051—1053, VII. 618).

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair, used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are despatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in Books v.—VIII. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (III. 501—518). *Joined to Heaven.* And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—in later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the Empyrean, but downward to Hell: i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (II. 1024—1033, *Joined to Hell.* x. 282 *et seq.*). This bridge¹, the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (II. 1032).

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior: as Milton explains in Book III. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks² on the outer surface of the World (III. 418—430). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chances to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom *The entrance into the World.* step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees overhead

¹ In the English *Faust-book*, 1592 (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 194), Mephistophiles says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder, reaching of exceeding highth, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven, to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God, but through their infidelity, when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries." With the last part of this extract cf. *P. L.* III. 484 *et seq.* It seems to me highly probable that Milton studied the *Faust-book* (which was immensely popular), as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it; see II. 596, note.

² I.e. like a fly moving up a lamp-globe (Masson).

the gate of Heaven; and looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III. 526 *et seq.*).

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII. 617—619):

“not far, founded in view

On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea¹.”

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Empyrean, there is a choice of ways: the stair leading to Heaven; the bridge to Hell; and the broad passage to the interior of the World:

“in little space

The confines met of empyrean Heaven,

And of this World; and, on the left hand, Hell

With long reach interposed; three several ways,

In sight, to each of these three places led².”

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his³ time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison⁴) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which

*The globe of
the World: its
interior.*

are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size: remove the first, and you shall find another inside, rather smaller: remove the second, and you shall come

on a third, still smaller: and so on, till you reach the centre—

the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells. Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (is it not often called ‘the centre⁵’?); and—a

*Milton's
astronomy.*

stationary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or Spheres: the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical systems.

Milton, accepting⁶ for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic

¹ i.e. the Crystalline Sphere.

² X. 320—324.

³ I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P. L.* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers of whom Milton was the last.

⁴ See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 616, 617; and the note on *Arcades* 64 (Pitt Press ed. p. 59), where the passage is translated.

⁵ Cf. perhaps I. 686; and certainly the *Winter's Tale* II. i. 102, *Troilus* I. 3. 85.

⁶ He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf. IV. 592—597, VIII. 15—178); and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem. The answer surely is obvious. The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of

system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X. of Castille, recognizes ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the *Primum Mobile*, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other¹, is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre² of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets *The Spheres.* successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or *Cælum Stellatum*, in which are set the 'fixed stars;' then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere; and last, the *Primum Mobile* enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—483) in Book III. describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven:

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that Crystalline Sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that First Moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v. 177, x. 651—658). Compare Shakespeare, *Titulus*, I. 3. 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony*, v. 2. 241, "the fleeting Moon no planet is of mine." The 'fixed stars' are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v. 176) with the word 'star' added: in the other places (III. 481, v. 621, x. 661) they are called simply "the fixed." Though they are unmoved their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres³. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v. 176 ("their orb⁴ that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the *Primum*

literary association and with no poetic terminology: whereas the Ptolemaic view and its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse. To have surrendered this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and unweaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

¹ Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus* vi. 38, 39:

"As are the elements, such are the spheres,
Mutually folded in each other's orb."

² Cf. VIII. 32 "the sedentary Earth;" and see IX. 107—109.

³ These have separate motions of their own.

⁴ 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

Mobile were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters (see note on VII. 261). It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" in *Genesis* i. 7. Compare the picture in VII. 270—271 of the World

"Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystalline ocean."

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos; those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the *Primum Mobile*) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (VII. 271—273).

Last comes the *Primum Mobile*¹, "the first² convex" of the World, i.e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter; but for its crust of substance Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (III. 419—421). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent: we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*:

"these heavens still by degrees arize,
Until they come to their first Movers bound,
That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
And carry all the rest with him around;"

and Marlowe, *Faustus*³:

"He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
From the bright circle of the horned moon
Even to the height of *Primum Mobile*;"

and Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*: "for the motions of the greatest

¹ Dante's *primo giro* (*Purgatorio*, i. 15).

² III. 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first; in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

³ Scene vi. *chorus*, ll. 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616; the passage is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward, p. 178).

persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under Primum Mobile."

B.

ON THE CHARACTER OF MILTON'S SATAN.

I have reserved for this *Appendix* notice of some points in Milton's delineation of the character of Satan. First, as to the rank which Milton assigns to him before his revolt, and the cause of that revolt. Milton speaks of Satan as an archangel¹—*Satan's rank in Heaven.* "if not the first archangel" (v. 660): that is, he is inclined to give Satan preeminence over all angelic beings. But this preeminence is not emphasised so much as we might have expected.

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Heaven is the proclamation that all should worship the Messiah as their Head (v. 600—615). Satan resents the command, conceiving himself "impaired" (v. 665) thereby; and he makes its pretended injustice *The motive of his revolt.* a means of drawing away a third part of the angels from their allegiance. They are equal, he says, to the Messiah: self-begotten, not created: not liable to pay worship; and so, playing on their pride, he wins them to his side (v. 772—802, 853—866). Meantime, in his own heart an even stronger motive is at work; to wit, ambition to be himself equal to the Deity—nay, superior. He not only disclaims submission to the Son: he strives "against the throne and monarchy" (l. 42) of the Almighty Himself; and it is as the foe rather of the Father than of the Son that the great archangel is set before us in *Paradise Lost*.

Touching both matters there was much tradition, whereof it may be interesting to cite two or three illustrations from popular works² with which Milton is likely to have been familiar. *Popular beliefs concerning Satan:* To take, for example, the English *Faust-book*: Faustus asks: "But how came lord and master Lucifer³ to have so great a fall from Heaven? Mephistophiles answered, My lord Lucifer

¹ Contrast the first extract from the *Faust-book*, later on.

² I choose three works each of which may, I think, be regarded as a *résumé* of many of the current traditions of demonology. Two of the books—the *Faust-book*, 1592, and Scot's *Discourse*, 1584—were extremely popular, and personally I believe that Milton had studied both. Scot devotes several chapters to "Lucifer and his fall." The third work—Heywood's *Hierarchie*, 1635—is very serviceable to an editor of *Paradise Lost*.

³ A common name of Satan.

was a fair angel, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphims¹, which are above the Cherubims, he would have presumed upon the Throne of God...upon this presumption the Lord cast him down headlong, and where (i.e. wheréas) before he was an angel of light, now dwells in darkness²." Later on Faustus returns to the subject, enquiring "in what estimation his lord Lucifer was, when he was in favour with God:" also touching his form and shape: to which Mephistophiles replies, "My lord Lucifer...was at the first an angel of God, yea he was so of God ordained for shape, pomp, authority, worthiness, and dwelling, that he far exceeded all the other creatures of God, and so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars...but when he began to be high minded, proud and so presumptuous, that he would usurp the seat of God's Majesty, then was he banished³."

The *Faust-book*, it will be seen, agrees with Milton on both points; while, as regards one of them—Satan's rank—it is more explicit than in Heywood's *Paradise Lost*. Equally explicit is Heywood's *Hierarchie "Hierarchie;" of the Blessed Angels* (1635). There (p. 336) we read that of the angels Lucifer was first-created and chief:

"As he might challenge a prioritie
In his Creation, so aboue the rest
A supereminence, as first and best."

Heywood mentions Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, and adds (p. 337) that great as they were,

"Yet aboue these was Lucifer instated,
Honor'd, exalted, and much celebrated."

Reginald Scot goes even further, remarking⁴ that according to the teaching of some divines Satan even after his fall exceeded in power any of the angelic host. It seems to me therefore something strange that Milton did not unequivocally invest Satan with superiority over all the angels.

As to Satan's motive Heywood⁵ differs from Milton, making jealousy of mankind the cause; while Scot writes⁶: "Our schoolemen differ much in the cause of *Lucifer's* fall [some alleging one thing, some another, while] others saie, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for 'that he

¹ The highest of the Hierarchies, see v. 587. We may note the forms 'Seraphims,' 'Cherubims;' see G. under 'Cherubim.'

² Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, 2nd ed., iii. 184.

³ Thoms, iii. 187.

⁴ Nicholson's ed. p. 425.

⁵ p. 339.

⁶ p. 423.

challenged the place of the Messias." This accords more with *Paradise Lost* v. 661—665.

For Milton Satan is the type of pride. The type was already fixed. As an epithet of Lucifer 'proud' had passed into a proverb. Thus Gower said¹:

Satan a type of pride: in earlier writers;

"For Lucifer with him that felle

Bar pride with him into helle.

There was pride of to grete cost

Whan he for pride hath heven lost;"

and Marlowe²:

"*Faust.* How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?

Meph. O, by aspiring pride and insolence;

For which God threw him from the face of heaven;"

and Greene³:

"proud Lucifer fell from the heavens,

.

Lucifer and his proud-hearted friends

Were thrown into the centre of the earth."

Milton therefore did not wholly conceive or create the character of the arch-rebel. Tradition, literary no less than theological, prescribed the dominant idea in that nature: *in Milton.*

enough if Milton developed the idea in harmony with the design of his poem. This he did. He depicts Satan as an embodiment of the spirit of pride and ambition⁴: not the ambition which is an honourable desire of praise—that last infirmity of noble minds—but the fevered lust for power which springs from overmastering self-esteem. In Satan this spirit of egotism is the poison that permeates his whole being, vanquishing and vitiating all that is good in him.

For at the outset of the action of *Paradise Lost* Satan has much that is noble and attractive in his nature. To have made him

wholly evil had repelled, and lessened the interest of the poem, which turns, in no slight degree, on the struggle between the good and evil elements in him. Indeed,

Complexity of Satan's character.

this very pride is not without its good aspect. Herein lies the motive power that nerves him at every crisis to face insuperable difficulties; to cherish immortal hope—though hope of revenge; and to adventure "high attempts."

¹ *Confessio Amantis*, book I.

² *Faustus* III. 67—69

³ *Friar Bacon* IX. 59, 65, 66.

⁴ Cf. Satan's own words in IV. 40.

On the other hand, it is this same spirit that drives him onward to his final fall. If at any moment he is minded to repent *His pride bars repentance.* and submit—through pity for the friends whom he has ruined, or mankind whom he schemes to ruin, or himself—through sense of his ingratitude (iv. 42—45) towards the Almighty—whatever the motive—relentless, resistless egotism sweeps aside compunction, and denies him retreat. To sue for grace were to humble himself in the eyes of his followers and in his own: which must not be (iv. 79—83).

Steadily does Milton keep this idea before us. There is no possibility of missing or mistaking his intention. The very word 'pride' recurs¹ like some persistent refrain, ringing clearest at the great crises, the fateful moments when the action of the epic enters on a fresh stage: as when in the fourth Book (ll. 27 *et seq.*) Satan looks down upon Eden from his resting-place on mount Niphates, and a brief while is inclined to give up his attempt and seek re-admission into Heaven; or as when in the ninth Book (ll. 455—472) he sees Eve in the Garden and is touched by her beauty and innocence, and disarmed of his ill thoughts. Always, however, the end is the same: "the hot hell" of pride in his heart breaks anew into flame; and he goes forward to his work². Had not pride led him to undertake it?

Satan's resolve to compass the fall of man is prompted by several feelings—each a phase of self-esteem. There is jealousy. *Satan's motives for tempting mankind.* Man has usurped his place—dispossessed him and his followers. At sight of Adam and Eve he exclaims (iv. 359—360):

"Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps!"

The same feeling finds expression in almost the same words later on (ix. 148, 149). That others should receive favour from the Almighty—and, as he thinks, at his expense—wounds his pride.

Again, there is desire to assert his supremacy by undertaking an office from which the mightiest of his followers recoil in fear. Nowhere does Satan stand forth so eminent and sublime "with monarchical pride" as in the scene in the second Book where he proffers himself for the great enterprise. The counsel of Beelzebub has been applauded by all (ll. 386—389): but who will carry it out? None dare: and then

¹ Cf. l. 36, 58, 527, 572, 603—with many other examples.

² Cf. Mr Stopford Brooke's admirable *Study of Milton*, p. 148.

Satan, proclaiming his readiness, once more confirms his sovereignty. Here too pride has ruled.

But the strongest motive remains: desire

"To wreak on innocent frail man his loss

Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell¹."

"To spite the great Creator" (II. 385) he will bring ruin on the earth and its inhabitants: which, if not victory, were revenge. The notion flatters his self-conceit. It is born of the old pride. And Milton dwells on it with fitting insistence².

Is Satan the 'hero' of *Paradise Lost*? We might think so did we not read beyond the first books. But to trace his history in the poem to its inglorious close is to dispel the impression. Milton can scarcely intend that we should regard as 'hero'—as worthy of sustained admiration—one who passes from the splendour of archangelic being to the state of a loathsome reptile³. The hideous metamorphosis in X. 504—532 is the necessary contrast to those scenes at the beginning of the epic in which the great rebel does appear in heroic grandeur: and we must look on both pictures. If *Paradise Lost* narrates the fall of man, it narrates too—and no less clearly—the fall of man's tempter. The self-degradation of Satan is complete: outward and inward: of the form and of the spirit: a change—ever for the worse—of shape and mind and emotion.

*Satan not the
'hero' of the
poem.*

*His self-de-
basement and
decline:*

There is the outward sign. Before his expulsion he is preeminently a lustrous being, clothed with ethereal radiance and glory—so much does his name "Lucifer" argue⁴. And afterwards he retains something of this "original brightness" (I. 592): howbeit much has passed from him (I. 97, 591—594). But gradually what was left decreases in proportion as the evil in him prevails: so that Uriel perceives the foul passions that dim his face (IV. 124—130); while Gabriel marks his "faded splendour wan" (IV. 870), and the Cherub Zephon taunts him therewith (IV. 835—840). Equal is his loss of physical force. On the fields of Heaven he does not fear to meet Michael in combat (VI. 246 *et seq.*): in the Garden of Eden he doubts himself a match for Adam:

in form;

*in physical
power;*

"Foe not formidable! exempt from wound,

¹ IV. 11, 12.

² Cf. VI. 905, 906.

³ Cf. his words in IX. 163—171.

⁴ Cf. VII. 131—133, and the second extract from the *Faust*-book, and Marlowe. "beautiful As was bright Lucifer before his fall" (*Faustus* v. 155).

I not; so much hath Hell debased, and pain¹

Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven."

In fact, he is glad that he has to deal with the woman—not the man (IX. 480—488).

Nor this because of lost strength alone. He shuns the "higher intellectual" of Adam (IX. 483), who would be better able than Eve to see through his arguments and so resist temptation. *He* is conscious of his own decline in intellect. The strong intelligence which inspires his speeches in the first two books has degenerated, by perverse use, into mere sophistical slyness, a base cunning—even as wine may lose its savour and turn to vinegar. He is no more the mighty-minded archangel: he is naught but the serpent—

"subtlest beast of all the field." Lastly, every impulse *in moral instinct* in him towards good has died out. The element of nobility that redeemed his character at the outset from absolute baseness has been killed. In evil he moves and has his being, so that himself confesses "all good to me becomes bane;" and in destroying lies his sole delight (IX. 118 *et seq.*).

Hardly therefore shall we believe that Milton meant us to see in the fallen and everfalling archangel the hero of *Paradise Lost*. That position surely belongs to Adam.

C.

PARADISE LOST, I. 358—375; II. 274—278, 397—402.

These² passages (with several in *Paradise Regained*) are illustrated by the following in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. iv. 3: "The fall of the angels was pride³. Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned. For being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some⁴ among the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth; they have by all means laboured to effect a universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *dii inferi*, 'gods infernal;' and particularly, some in

¹ See I. 55, VI. 327, notes.

² I have to thank Mr R. D. Hicks for many of the references used in this sketch.

³ See p. 145.

⁴ Cf. Plato's *δαίμονες ὑποχθόνιοι*.

oracles¹, some in idols², some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world and dissolved the works of the Devil." The interest of this passage is that Hooker identifies the fallen angels (1) with the heathen—more especially classical—deities, (2) with the dæmons supposed to inhabit the four³ 'elements.' This twofold identification accords with the apparently universal belief of mediæval writers. The precise steps whereby it was reached cannot perhaps be determined; but the process may have been on this wise.

The belief in the existence of dæmons is as old as Hesiod's time; cf. the *Works and Days*, 121—126. It is found *passim* in Greek philosophy. The character attributed to these dæmons varies in the different authorities. In a rough generalization we may say that they were regarded as semi-divine powers intermediate between gods and men. Their dwelling-place also varies: Æschylus (*Persæ*, 630) describes them as χθόνιοι; Plato⁴ (*Cratylus*, 398 A) as ἐποχθόνιοι. The theory which assigns the air as their special abode, and which is brought forward very prominently in *Paradise Regained*, dates from Neo-Pythagorean writers⁵. Now the tendency of Greek popular superstition and of later philosophy was to merge these dæmons in the gods: a tendency traceable as far back as Democritus⁶. He (says Zeller⁷) "may be regarded as the first who, mediating between philosophers and the popular religion, entered upon the course so often pursued in after times, viz. that of degrading the gods of polytheism into dæmons." This course is carried further by the Neo-Pythagoreans—for whom, "as for the other philosophers of that time, dæmons take the place of the popular gods in all cases where what is attributed to the gods was found irreconcilable with a purer conception of the divinity, and yet was not altogether to be denied. Divination⁸ proceeded from them,

¹ Cf. the second passage quoted later on from Zeller.

² Alluding perhaps to *Ps.* xcvi. 5—see later.

³ Hooker omits the dæmons of fire (= Philo's τὰ πνεύματα).

⁴ He is quoting Hesiod, l. c. (where, however, our texts have ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ).

⁵ i.e. from the first century B.C. onwards. "They imagine the dæmons to be souls dwelling in the space between the earth and the moon, and occupying a virtuous virtue of their nature and their abode, a place intermediate between gods and men." Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 2, p. 135); he cites various Neo-Pythagoreans summarising their views thus.

⁶ Circa 420 B.C.

⁷ *Pre-Socratics*, English trans., II. p. 259.

⁸ Cf. Hooker, *ante*; *Nat. Ode*, 175 (note in Pitt Press ed.); *S.F.* I. 430, 431, where the Saviour says to Satan (prince of the dæmons) "all oracles by thee are given."

expiations were made to them: Timæus Locrus even affirms that the gods committed to them the government of the world" (Zeller¹). And this identification of gods and dæmons is completed in Philo Judæus² and Rabbinical writers. Not to multiply proofs, we may take a single illustration which will readily occur to most readers, viz. 1 *Cor.* x. 20, where St Paul (influenced, I presume, by Rabbinical teaching and Greek philosophy) expressly, and appropriately since he is writing to Greeks, calls the divinities of the Gentiles δαιμόνια³. The notion may be traced in many patristic works.

The next step is the identification of the dæmons with the fallen angels. This is made by Philo, who treats the dæmons as intermediaries or messengers (ἄγγελοι) between God and the world, and says that they are the beings whom Moses calls angels—οὗς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἄγγέλους Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν ὀνομάζειν, ψυχὰς δ' εἶναι κατὰ τὸν ἄέρα πετόμεναι⁴. This identification is also a Rabbinical doctrine. It suffices for our purpose again to recall St Paul's words in *Ephes.* ii. 2, where Satan, chief of the fallen angels, is termed "the prince of the power of the air," i.e. lord of the dæmons of the air.

The dæmons, then, having been identified on the one hand with the heathen gods, and on the other with the fallen angels, the identification of the fallen angels with the heathen gods naturally followed. Hence it is common to find all three treated as the same in patristic and mediæval works. This is Hooker's view; it is also Milton's. The identity of the fallen angels and the heathen gods is stated so explicitly in *P. L.* i. 358—375 that it were superfluous to dwell on the point. The identity of the fallen angels and the dæmons⁵ is less emphasised in *P. L.* (but see II. 274—278, 397—402, notes). In *P. R.* it is conspicuous. As a signal illustration *P. R.* II. 121—126 may be instanced.

D.

PARADISE LOST, I. 515—517.

What are we to understand by the expressions "the middle air" (*P. L.* i. 516) and "the middle region of air" (*P. R.* II. 117), the meaning of which would appear to be the same? Most editors are

¹ *Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 2, p. 139.

² B.C. 30—A.D. 40 (circa).

³ The same word is used in the Septuagint in *Psalms* xcvi. 5, where the A. V. has "idols." Cf. Hooker, *ante*, and *P. L.* i. 375.

⁴ *De gigant.* 285 A (263, 7).

⁵ i.e. the dæmons of all four 'elements,' not of air alone.

silent on the subject; some interpret "middle" = "between heaven and earth." This view, though possible, does not appear to me wholly satisfactory, and I venture to offer another—that Milton alludes in both places to a theory, evidently current at that time, of the division of the air into three regions, and that "middle region" is really a quasi-scientific term ("*media regio*") which would be perfectly intelligible to all scholars of the 17th century. As to the history of this threefold division: the first hints of it that fell in my way were the passage in the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius and that¹ in Jonson's *Masque of Hymen* (*ad fin.*) mentioned in my note on *P. L.* i. 516. The combined evidence of these led to the conclusion that the threefold partition must have been a conception then recognized: not indeed a classical conception, but experience had often shown that in such matters Milton's views are post-classical, what one may vaguely call 'mediæval.' This I conjectured to be a case in point; and such it proved. The kindness of Mr R. D. Hicks enables me to throw some light on a doctrine which, in my opinion, fits the two Miltonic passages with extreme appositeness, and lends them an entirely new² interest. Of the references with which Mr Hicks has supplied me space will admit but two or three.

First, then, the following extracts from the works of Bartholomæus Keckermann³, the German *savant*, are important as coming from what may be considered a compendium of contemporary science—if indeed one should not rather say omniscience. Keckermann is speaking of the divisions of the air; and he remarks that there are two main theories as to its partition—the older and less correct which postulates two regions, the modern and more accurate which recognizes three. He says: "*Aristoteles atque adeo veteres Physici locum aeris dividunt in πρῶτον & δεύτερον, id est, primum & secundum, sive superiorem & inferiorem ... Recentiores autem accuratius pauld totum illud spatium (sic) aerium partiti sunt in tres partes sive regiones... Perfection sive accuratior distinctio aeris est in tres regiones, nempe in Supremam, Mediam & Infimam.*" The genesis of this doctrine he traces thus: "*Distinctio ista... ab interpretibus Aristotelis primum tradita fuit, nempe ab Averroe⁴, a Thegnistio⁵ & Simplicio⁶, & deinde latius explicata ab Alberto⁷ M. &*

¹ See next page.

² New, that is (and I hope true) to most modern readers, since the explanation finds no mention in any edition of Milton; but to many of his contemporaries it would have been superfluous.

³ D. Bartholomæi Keckermanni Dantiscani operum omnium que existant Tomus Primus. Geneva. Apud Petrum Aubertum. MDCXIV.

⁴ A.D. 1120—1198.

⁵ A.D. 330—390.

⁶ Circa A.D. 536.

⁷ A.D. 1193—1250.

aliis Scholasticis, idque potissimum eo fine, ut doctrina meteorum clarior atque illustrior fieret" (as for sundry other reasons¹). He discusses at some length the characteristics of each region; and though we are most concerned with what he has to say of the middle region (*media*)—his remarks being founded on what Albertus had written—we may just note that he represents the upper region (*suprema*) as the driest and hottest, and the lower region (*infima*) as hot, through radiation from the surface of the earth heated by the sun's rays, but also moist. Now as to the "*media regio*" he writes (1) that it is peculiarly cold—(a) because vapours collect there from land and sea, (b) because of its reaction (*ἀντιπερίσταςις*) against the heat of the upper and lower regions; (2) that, beginning where the sun's rays lose their power—its lowest point earthwards—it reaches to the tops of the loftiest mountains—its highest point heavenwards. The diameter of this belt of air is computed by some at seven English miles.

Keckermann has referred above to his authorities; let us glance at Albertus Magnus. In his *Commentary* on the *Meteora* Albertus has a chapter² headed, *Quare non sunt nubes in superiori regione aeris, sed in media tantum*. Here, after discussing the upper and lower regions, he adds, "*est autem in medio duarum regionum, scilicet superioris æstuosæ, & inferioris calidæ & humidæ, tertia aeris zona sive regio...quæ est valde frigida et excellentis frigiditatis*." And then he goes on to explain how vapour gathers there—*infra altissimos montes*—and condenses and forms clouds, so that this middle region is the gathering-place of rain³. Later⁴ he writes to the same effect—"tria sunt aeris interstitia, infimum & medium & supremum...medium frigidum excellenter & humidum." Now let us summarise the results of these descriptions of the "*media regio*," and see how they apply to the Miltonic "middle region."

(1) The "*media regio*" is the place of clouds; cf. *P. R.* I. 39—41, where Satan

"in mid air

To council summons all his mighty peers,

Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved."

•

¹ Cf. *op. cit.* col. 1446.

² *Liber* 1., *Tractatus* 1., *Caput* VIII.

³ Cf. the passage in Jonson; it is a description of some scenery used in the *Masque of Hymen*, which represented "the three regions of air:" the middle region "all of dark and condensed clouds, as being the proper place where rain, hail, and other watery meteors are made;" or as Averroes puts it—*in quo fiunt pluvia et nix et grando* (*Meteorologicorum Lib.* 1., *Cap.* IV.).

⁴ *Liber* II., *Tract.* 1., *Cap.* III.

(2) It is thick with heavy vapours; cf. *P. R.* II. 117, where Satan ascends "Up to the middle region of thick air."

(3) It is peculiarly cold; and 'cold' is the precise epithet used in *P. L.* I. 516. Cf. *The Death of a Fair Infant*, 16, "Through middle empire of the freezing air."

(4) It extends to the top of high mountains; and mount Olympus is 'the dwelling-place of the deities who "rule the middle air,"' *P. L.* I. 515, 516. Cf. the *Vacation Exercise*, 41, 42.

(5) It is capped by another, perhaps broader, belt of air; and in *P. L.* I. 517 Milton expressly sneers at the "highest heaven" of the classical deities as not being so very high after all—which, according to the whole system of this theory, is true enough.

It appears to me therefore that the explanation suggested fits the passages at every turn. I imagine that to many of Milton's readers, as to many of the spectators of Jonson's *Masque*, the notion of the three regions was perfectly familiar. And I have given the view at some detail because I believe that it restores a lost point of Miltonic interpretation.

E.

PARADISE LOST, I. 532—587.

582—87. The enumeration of proper names is a favourite device with M.—as with many other poets, notably with Vergil. Cf. *Nat. Ode*, one of his earliest poems (1629), XI. 381—411, *P. R.* III. 270 *et seq.* The charm of such passages lies in the musical sound of the names, in their historical or literary associations, and in the impression of vague remoteness and mystery that they convey. Bentley, however, with something more than his usual infelicity as a critic of M., omitted ll. 579—87 (from "what resounds" to "Fontarabbia") as being "Romantic Trash—a heap of barbarous Words." Even Keightley opined that the names are chosen "somewhat at random:" whereas, in truth, each has been carefully selected by M. for its associations. These we shall be able to trace at greater length here than would have been desirable in the *Notes*—and with some fresh illustrative matter.

582. *all who since*. He is thinking—mainly—of great Italian poems of chivalry with their accounts of contests between Christians ('baptized') and Saracens ('infidel'—see 763, note): e.g. Pulci's *Morgante Maggior*, 1481—see allusion to it, *Arctopagitica*, *P. W.* II.

64; Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, 1495, recast by Berni, 1541—see allusion *P. R.* III. 338—43; Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, 1516, of which there was a famous English Version by Sir John Harington 1591—see extract from Ariosto in *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* II. 383; and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In a letter from Florence (1638), and elsewhere, M. manifests his delight in Italian literature.

583; *Aspramont*, situate 6 miles north of Nice. In Hexham's *Mercator* (1636) I find it marked in the map of Provence, and again in that of Italy. The castle belonging to the great family of the Counts of Aspramont may still be seen. Probably the literary allusion is to the *Orlando Furioso*, XII. 43, where Aspramont is mentioned as the scene of a feat of arms performed by Orlando; and M. may have known a certain Italian poem, entitled *L'Aspramonte* and published at Venice in 1532—itself, possibly, based on the French 'Chanson de Geste' *Aspremont*, which deals with Charlemagne's conquest of Apulia. In any case, it is pretty clear that 'Aspramont' was a name familiar to readers of mediæval romances of chivalry: and does not Scott tell us of jousts at the castle of Aspramont for the hand of the 'Lady of Aspramonte' (*Count Robert of Paris*)? Also, as M. in his journey to Italy, rejecting the route by Marseilles to Genoa which Sir Henry Wotton recommended (see *Comus*, p. 72), passed through Nice (so he says in the *Defensio Secunda*), he may conceivably have visited the famous castle, and viewed the scene of the exploits of Orlando and other knights. The notion that Asprement in the Netherlands is meant need only be mentioned to be dismissed.

Montalban, or *Montauban*, another famous name. It was the castle, in Languedoc, of the Knight Renaud, the Rinaldo of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* and Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. In the English romance "The Foure Sonnes of Aymon" (published by Caxton, about 1489), Montalban is constantly mentioned as the scene of conflicts between Charlemagne's troops and Renaud who is besieged there (see Early English Text Society's ed. pp. 395—422). Rodd in his *Spanish Ballads* (1812) gives one "The Ancient Ballad of Count Claros of Montalban" (and another "The Ancient Ballad of the Battle of Roncesvalles.")

584. *Damasco*, probably the literary allusion is to the *Orlando Furioso*. In Harington's version the 'Argument' to book XVII. says, "Martano at Damasco tilts;" stanzas 12—20 of that book describe the city, with the meeting of the champions there, and stanzas 58—73 their tournaments and jousts. No doubt, too, M. was thinking of Damascus as the scene of battles in times of the Crusades; cf. Greene, *Friar*

Bacon, IV. 27, "The virtuous fame discoursed of his deeds...Done at the Holy Land 'fore Damas' walls," and VIII. 113, "that famous Prince...Who at Damasco beat the Saracens." Note that M. uses the form 'Damasco' here, but 'Damascus' at 468: the one suggests the mediæval, the other the Scriptural, city.

Marocco, so original eds., cf. XI. 404; closer than *Morocco* to Arab. *Marrákush*. Wars between Spaniards and Moors are meant.

Trebizond, Gk Trapezus, in Cappadocia, was the seat of the empire of the family of the Grand-Komnenos from A.D. 1204 to 1461, when the city was captured by Mohammed. Writers of the Middle Age and later historians (Gibbon has only a brief allusion, VII. 327) celebrate the extraordinary splendour of the court and magnificence of the city. "Never," says the historian of Trebizond, Professor Fallmerayer, "was there a land more fitted to provide material for romances of chivalry (*Rittergeschichten*):" Trebizond "became in popular romance and in the imagination of the Italians and Provençals one of the most famous empires of the east, and the rallying point of the youth and flower of Asia" (*Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*). Now the great exemplar of this romance associated with Trebizond (whose splendours would naturally be reflected on Western Europe through an Italian medium) was a certain heroic novel, *Il Caloandro*, or *Il Caloandro Fedele*, written by Giovanni Ambrosio Marini of Genoa, published at Bologna in 1641 (but I am not sure that this was the 1st ed.), and often reprinted. This work, which had some historical basis, was one of the most famous romances of the 17th cent. Twice translated into French (by Monsieur de Scudéry, brother of the novelist, and by the Comte de Caylus), it may have been Englished—as was another novel by Marini, *The Desperadoes*; and it seems to me quite likely that M. was thinking of it here, or at any rate that many of his readers would think of it. Those who knew the novel would recall the numerous jousts and tournaments which take place at the court of Trebizond, e.g. the great combat in book XXI. ('tis a vast story) between the three champions of the princess Tigrinde and the three representatives of the Persian and Tartar armies—with many similar scenes. It is worth while to add that the author (Cardinal Bessarion) of the curious *Laus Trapezumis* (printed in Tafel's *Eustathii Opuscula*, 1832) dwells on its tournaments and games as a special feature of the court; and to remember how Scott makes the Templar say to Rebecca, "I won him (his horse, Zamor) in single fight from the Soldan of Trebizond" (*Ivanhoe*, chap. xliv.).

585. The historical reference is to the Moorish invaders of Spain, the literary to book II. of the *Orlando Innamorato*, where we read how Agramant, 'King of Africa,' assembled his troops at Biserta (ancient Utica) for invasion of Christendom, landed in Spain, and came up with army of Charlemagne, when "a bloody battle ensued."

586, 587. The event to which M. refers was this: Charlemagne, who had entered Spain to attack the Saracens, was retreating into France, A.D. 778; his army had to pass through the defile of Roncesvalles (or Roncesvaux) in N. W. Spain; Charlemagne himself, with main body, had got through the pass, when the rear-guard, through Ganelon's treachery, was attacked in the pass by the Gascons (or Basques), and cut to pieces, among those who perished being the famous Roland, whose death became the subject of numberless 'Chansons de Gestes,' such as the great *Song of Roland* (see Eginhardus, *Vita Caroli Magni* cap. 9). Now we note two things in these lines: (i) Fontarabbia is 40 miles from Roncesvalles: why does M. place the disaster at the former? Some will have it that he chose Fontarabbia because the name has a very pretty sound, and that "by Fontarabbia" was quite accurate enough—in poetry: which seems to me a feeble solution. Some again (after Newton) say that M. followed the historian Mariana and 'other Spanish writers'—names not specified. Mariana, however, does not mention Fontarabbia at all, but gives the ordinary version, that the battle was at Roncesvalles. My own belief is that there is some literary allusion not yet traced. Scott happily combines the two names, *Marmion*, VI. 33:

"O, for a blast of that dread horn,
On Fontarabian echoes borne,
That to king Charles did come,
When Rowland brave, and Olivier,
And every paladin and peer,
On Roncesvalles died."

(ii) M. represents Charlemagne as having fallen in the fight, whereas he lived till 814. Here again Milton's authority is not known; though Mariana does speak of Charlemagne dying through chagrin at his defeat soon after.

Montaigne introduces the name *Fontarabie* in a short historical anecdote in his *Essay* (I. xv.) entitled "Of the punishment of Cowardise" in Florio's translation (1603).

F.

THE ORDERS OF THE HEAVENLY BEINGS.

According to a mediæval belief the Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs. These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (*θρόνοι*), forming the first Hierarchy; Dominations (*κυριότητες*), Virtues (*δυνάμεις*), and Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*), forming the second; Principalities (*ἀρχαί*), Archangels and Angels, forming the third. This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes.* i. 21 and *Colos.* i. 16. First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν ἱεραρχίας*, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVIII. 98—126. Allusions to it are frequent in Elizabethan writers. Works from which many illustrations of the system might be quoted are:—*Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), the *Faust-book* (1592), Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* (1596), Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, i. 28, and Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which deals with the subject at great length.

Milton accepted¹ the tradition and made it the basis of the whole angelical system of *Paradise Lost*.

Each of the Orders possessed some special quality. The Seraphim were the "burning" lustrous beings; cf. Spenser, *Heavenly Beautie*:

"those eternall burning Seraphins,

Which from their faces dart out fieric light."

This conception, due probably to the false derivation of *Seraphim* from a root signifying 'to burn,' determines Milton's choice of epithets for this Order of the Hierarchies. See *Seraphim* in the *Glossary*.

The Cherubim had a wondrous power of vision: hence their main duty in *Paradise Lost* is to keep watch. See IV. 778, note. And through this power of vision they enjoyed in a peculiar degree the *Visio Beatifica* or faculty of "contemplating" the Deity. In the words of the treatise *περὶ τῆς ἱεραρχίας* they were distinguished διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν

¹ Thus in *Church Government* he says, "the angels themselves... are distinguished into their celestial principdoms and satrapies," *P. H.* II. 442. He several times uses the special terms "Orders" and "Hierarchies"—cf. *P. L.* I. 737, v. 587, 591, VII. 192; while the titles "Seraphim," "Thrones," "Dominations," "Virtues," etc. occur constantly.

αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητικόν. And this notion is the key to that line (54) in *Il Penseroso*, the point of which has been so much misunderstood—"The Cherub Contemplation."

The archangels were, as their name implied, the "chief messengers" of the Almighty and the intermediaries between him and Man. Cf. Reginald Scot, "As for archangels, they are sent onlie about great and secret matters"; and Heywood, "The Archangels are Embassadors, great matters to declare." Hence Milton makes Raphael in book v. and Michael in books xi., xii.—each one of the seven archangels referred to in III. 648—653, the bearers of messages and charges from the Almighty to Adam.

One other point in which Milton follows mediæval tradition with regard to the Heavenly beings may be noticed. Descriptions like those in book III., ll. 625—628 and 636—642, are purely traditional. We must compare them with the presentment of angels in works of early Christian art. Poets and painters alike drew upon religious tradition and expressed it by certain conventional details. And this presentment of angelic beings contained a considerable element of symbolism. In *Batman vppon Bartholome* II. iii., iv., there is a long discourse on the attributes which painters assign to angels and on their symbolical significance. The following brief extracts from it illustrate Milton's pictures of Uriel (III. 625—628) and the "stripling Cherub" (III. 636—642): "When Angells are paynted with long lockes and crispe haire, thereby is understoode their cleane affections and ordinate thoughts. For the hayre of the head betokeneth thoughts and affections that doe spring out of the roote of thought and minde...And they be painted beardles: for to take consideration and heede, that they passe never the state of youth, neyther waxe feeble in vertues, neither faile for age...Truely they be paynted feathered and winged...[as a sign that] they be lifted up in effect and knowledge, and rauished to the innermost contemplation of the loue of God."

GLOSSARY.

Milton's diction is essentially Elizabethan: the diction of the Authorised Version (1611) of the Bible and of Shakespeare. *Paradise Lost*, therefore, though published in 1667, is best illustrated from the works of the generation contemporary with Shakespeare. Hence many of the illustrations in the *Glossary* and *Notes* are taken from the writers who may collectively and conveniently be described as Elizabethan.

A marked feature of Milton's diction, as of his style, is his classical bias. He employs many words in their classical sense, just as he employs many classical idioms and figures of speech. This classicism of diction is still more conspicuous in his prose, in which he introduces numbers of long, sonorous words derived from the Latin. Sometimes he invents such words. These books of *Paradise Lost* contain numerous examples of his classical diction, e.g. *abject*, *admire*, *exercise*, *frequent*, *mood*, *prevent*, *reluctance* (see each in this *Glossary*); *suffice*, *afflict*, *offend*, *virtue*, *horrid*, *expatiate*, *arbitress*, *sentence*, *sublime*, *voluminous*, *labouring*, *deform*, *redounding*, *pennons*, *hold* (see *Notes* to I. 148, 186, 187, 320, 563, 774, 785; II. 51, 528, 652, 665, 706, 889, 933, 1043).

Another interesting feature is his partiality for Italianised forms. This is more conspicuous in his verse, perhaps because he felt so strongly, and wished his readers to be reminded of, the spell and fascination of the great Italian epics. By his own statement, he had studied Italian much before he went to Italy. His letters and prose-works reveal his love of it (I do not remember any interesting reference in his works to French literature); and several short poems testify to his very considerable mastery of the language. Instances of his leaning towards Italian are—*ammiral*, *harald*, *Soldan*, *sovrain*; *skein* (IV. 50), *serenate* (IV. 769); *azurn* (*Comus*, 893).

Abbreviations:—

A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, i.e. English down to about the Conquest.

Middle E. = Middle English, i.e. English from about the Conquest to about 1500.

Elizabethan E. = the English of Shakespeare and his contemporaries (down to about 1650).

O. F. = Old French, i.e. till about 1600. F. = modern French.

Germ. = modern German. Gk. = Greek.

Ital. = modern Italian. Lat. = Latin.

The dates, of course, are only approximate: such divisions must be more or less arbitrary and open to criticism.

abject, I. 312, 'cast down,' the literal sense of Lat. *abjectus*, the past participle of *abjicere*, 'to cast away or down.' In Tindale's *New Testament* (1534), 2 *Cor.* vii. 6 is rendered "He that comfortith the abjecte" = "those that are cast down" in the Authorised Version. Commonly *abject* is a figurative word = 'degraded.'

abyss, I. 21, 658; Lat. *abyssus*, from Gk. *ἄβυσσος*, 'bottomless'—*ἀ-*, 'not' + *βυσσός*, 'bottom, depth.' Shakespeare always uses the older form *abysm*, from F. *abisme*; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2, 50, "In the dark backward and abysm of time."

admire, I. 690, II. 677, 'wonder,' the literal sense of Lat. *admirari*. Cf. *admiration* = 'wonder' III. 271, and in *Hamlet*, III. 2, 339, "your behaviour hath struck her into amazement and admiration"; and *admirable* = 'to be wondered at,' *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. 27, "strange and admirable."

advise, II. 376, 'consider'; often used reflexively in this sense, like F. *s'aviser*, 'to consider.' Cf. I *Chronicles* xxi. 12, "advise thyself what word I shall bring" (Revised Version 'consider').

alchemy, II. 517, 'metal'; properly *alchemy*, from Arabic *alkīmīa*: *al* = 'the' (Arabic article), + *kīmīa*, a corruption of *χημία*, used in late Gk. for the chemical transmutation of metals. Probably *χημία* was the Gk. form of the native name of Egypt (= 'the land of *Khem*'), and meant 'the Egyptian art.' Later, through confusion with *χέω*, 'to pour' (cf. *χυμός*, 'sap, juice'), there arose a form *χυμεία*: whence in E. the old spellings 'alchemy,' 'alchumie,' and 'chymist' (short for 'alchymist'). From meaning the art of amalgamating metals 'alchemy' came to be used of the amalgam or metallic composition produced by the process. A certain amalgam, like gold, was called 'alchemy gold' or 'alchemy'; cf. Fletcher, *Purple Island*, VII. 39, "Such were his arms, false gold,

true alchymie." This mixed metal, in which brass was the chief constituent, was much employed for trumpets—as M. evidently knew.

Alp, II. 620; formerly used, like *Alpes* in late Latin poets, of any high (especially snow-capped) mountain. Cf. *S. A.* 628, "Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp"; and Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I. 112, "Certaine *Alpes* or *Mountaines* directly Southward." A Celtic word; cf. Gaelic *alp*, 'a high mountain.'

amerce, I. 609; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 1, 195, "But I'll amerce you with so strong a fine," i.e. punish. F. *amercier*, 'to fine,' which was derived from the O. F. phrase *estre à merci* = 'to be in the mercy of any one as to the amount of a fine (Lat. *merx*) which he could impose.' Here (I. 609) *amerced* = 'deprived of' (i.e. as a punishment for their rebellion). Note that F. *merci*, whence E. *mercy*, is connected with *merx* (= 'a fine' in late Latin), and not with *misericordia*.

ammiral, I. 294. The chief vessel of a fleet was called the 'admiral' because it carried the admiral or chief officer. Cf. Hakluyt, I. 401, "the sayd William met with sixe ships.....and tooke of them the Admirall." In the form *ammiral* M. imitates Ital. *ammiraglia*, which Florio (1598) renders by "an admirall or chief ship." Properly *admiral* means 'ruler, commander,' being derived from Arabic *Amir*, 'ruler' (cf. *Amecr* of Afghanistan and *Emir*); and formerly the full phrase "admiral of the sea" was used, the italicised words being dropped in course of time. The *d* in *admiral* (older form *amyrel*) arose through confusion with Lat. *admirabilis* and *admirable*.

assay, I. 619, 'try, attempt'; M. always uses this form, from O. F. *assai*, a variant form of O. F. *essai*, whence the commoner form in E. *essay*. Lat. *exagium*, Gk. ἐξάγιον, 'a weighing, trial of weight.'

astonish, I. 266; formed from the older verb *astony* = O. F. *estonner*, modern F. *étonner*, from Lat. *extonnare*, 'to thunder.' The original notion of *astony* (see IX. 890), *astonish*, and *astound* (I. 281) was 'to stupefy, strike senseless, as with a thunder-bolt.' Cf. the *Argument* to bk. I., line 12, and Milton's *History of Britain*, "astonished and struck with superstition as with a planet."

baleful, I. 56, II. 576, 'full of sorrow, unhappy'; commonly 'full of harm'—cf. *Comus*, 255, "baleful drugs." A. S. *bealu* = 'evil, sorrow.'

beest, I. 84. The verb *be*, from A. S. *bēon* (the infinitive), was conjugated in pres. tense indicative as late as Milton's time, especially in: (i) 2nd pers. sing. with *if*; M. indeed does not use "if thou beest elsewhere, but the idiom is frequent in Shakespeare—cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 137, "if thou beest a man," and V. 134, "if thou be'st Prospero."

(ii) 1st pers. plur.; cf. *Genesis* xlii. 32, "We be twelve brethren."
 (iii) 3rd pers. plur.; cf. *Matthew* xv. 14, "they be blind leaders." Very common was 'there be'; cf. vi. 143, *Comus*, 519, "such there be."

bullion, i. 704; F. *bouillon*, Lat. *bullio*, 'a mass of metal,' from *bullire*, 'to boil.' *Bullion* is only connected with Lat. *bullā*, 'a seal' in so far as *bullā* itself is from *bullire*.

buxom, ii. 842, 'yielding'; from A. S. *būgan*, 'to bend'; cf. Germ. *beugsam*, 'easily bent, pliant.' Originally *buxom* meant 'obedient'; cf. the *Glosse* to Spenser's *Shepheards Calender*, *September*, "*Buxome and bent*, meeke and obedient." Then came the sense 'yielding, pliant'; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, xv. 12, "with strong oars... brush the buxom wave."

Cherubim; the correct form = Heb. *Kherūbhīm*, the plural of *Kherūbh*. The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, sing., and *Cherubins*, plural. Cf. Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isai.* xxxvii. 16; and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exod.* xxv. 18. Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, sing., and *Cherubins*, plural, were used, as being closer to Hebrew. M. wrote *Cherube* for singular (a still nearer approach in sound than 'Cherub' to the *ū* of the Heb. *Kherūbh*), and the true plural *Cherubim* (adopted in the Revised Version of the Bible). *Kherūbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits. The Jews probably owed it to the Phoenicians.

combustion, i. 46; properly 'conflagration,' from Lat. *comburare*, 'to burn up'; hence metaphorically 'utter confusion,' or 'destruction,' as here. Cf. vi. 225, and *Macbeth*, ii. 3. 63, "dire combustion and confused events." In M. always a very strong word; cf. *Of Reformation*, "to threaten uproar and combustion," *P. W.* ii. 417.

conjured, ii. 693, 'banded (literally 'sworn') together in a conspiracy'; Lat. *conjuratus*. Cf. Surrey's translation (1557) of *Æneid*, ii., "They bind themselves with the conjured bands," and Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, v. 10. 26.

couch, ii. 536, 'to fix the spear in the rest' (Fr. *coucher*). The 'rest' was "a strong part of the armour at the breast, against which they placed the butt of the spear to give more force to the charge" (Keightley). Cf. Shakespeare, 1 *Henry VI.* iii. 2. 134, "A braver soldier never couched lance." So Tennyson, *Pelleas and Ettarre*, "She spake; and at her will they couch'd their spears."

cresset, i. 728; a vessel of iron to hold some burning substance

(e.g. grease, oil, tarred rope) and serve as a lantern or beacon; usually mounted on the top of a pole, or hung from a roof—cf. Scott, *Marmion*, "A cresset in an iron chain." F. *cresset* or *crasset*, 'a cup for holding grease'; not akin to O. F. *creuset*.

cry, II. 654, 'a pack'; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 3. 120, "You common cry of curs!" The sense comes from the hounds' cry or notes.

dint, II. 813, 'blow,' its original sense; also used of the *dent* (another form of *dint*) or impression left by a blow; cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 6. 39, "targes undinted," i.e. shields not marked by blows.

disastrous, I. 597, 'boding misfortune.' *Disaster* (Lat. *dis* + *astrum*, 'a star') is one of the words belonging to astrology: thus Minsheu (1617) explains it as "some misfortune due to the influence (see p. 165) of the stars." Cf. 'ill-starred.'

element, II. 490, 'sky,' a common Elizabethan use; cf. *Henry V.* IV. 1. 105, 107, "the king is but a man, as I am: the element shows to him as it doth to me." So in *Lear*, III. 1. 4 ("the fretful element").

empyrean, I. 117, II. 430, 'fiery, formed of fire,' Lat. *empyraeus*, Gk. ἐμπύρειος, 'in the fire (πῦρ), fiery hot, burning.' Note that M. always accents the adj. *empyrean*, but the noun *empyrean* (II. 771).

engine, I. 750; in its original sense 'contrivance,' i.e. something made with *ingenuity* (Lat. *ingenium*). Later, 'implement, instrument,' especially of war; so in II. 923, where it probably means 'cannon,' as in VI. 484, 518. Cf. *Othello*, III. 3. 355, "you mortal engines" (i.e. cannon).

enthrall, II. 551; **thrall**, I. 149; from Icelandic *þrall*, 'a serf,' Danish *træl*; no doubt, *thrall* came into England through the Danes. Strictly it meant 'a runner,' i.e. on messages, the original root being that seen in Gk. τρέχειν, 'to run.' The notion that *thrall* comes from *thrill*, because the ears of serfs were *thrilled* or *drilled*, i.e. pierced, is wrong.

exercise, II. 89; in the sense of Lat. *exercere*, 'to harass, torment'; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, v. 725, *Iliacis exercite fatis*. So in *Ecclesiastes* i. 13, "this sore travail hath God given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith" = 'to afflict them,' as the margin reads. See *P. R.* I. 156.

fare, II. 940, 'journey, travel'; the literal sense of A. S. *faran*; cf. Germ. *fahren*, 'to travel.' So often in Spenser; cf. *Faerie Queene*, II. 1. 2, "forth he fares," and II. 2. 12, "fare on foot." This notion of 'travelling' is kept in 'railway-fare,' 'thorough-fare.'

founder, I. 204, II. 940; properly 'to sink to the bottom' (Lat.

fundus); cf. F. *s'effondrer*, 'to sink down.' Cognate words *foundation*, *profound* and F. *fond*, 'bottom.'

frame, II. 924, 'fabric'; a favourite word with M. and with writers like Dryden and Thomson who were influenced by his diction (see II. 438, 898, notes). Cf. v. 154, "this universal frame" = the universe. Cf. too Shakespeare: "this goodly frame, the earth," *Hamlet*, II. 2. 310. Similar is the Lucretian phrase *moles et machina mundi* (v. 96).

fraught, II. 715, 'laden with'; the p. p. not of *freight* but of *fraught*, 'to load,' a verb now obsolete; cf. *Cymbeline*, I. I. 126, "If... thou fraught the court," i.e. burden it. The participle was also (but rarely) *fraughted*; cf. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 270, "Fraughted with gall." Akin probably to *freight*.

frequent; in the sense of Lat. *frequens*, 'crowded.' Cf. Ben Jonson, *Sejanus*, "'Tis Cæsar's will to have a frequent senate." M. twice uses "in full frequency" = in full assembly (Lat. *frequentia*); cf. *P. R.* I. 128, II. 130. Cf. Tennyson, *The Princess*, "Not in this frequency can I lend full tongue."

fretted, I. 717; from the verb *fret* = 'to work or design with frets.' A *fret* was a small band; the word comes from O. F. *frete*, 'an iron band' = Ital. *ferrata*, 'an iron grating' (cf. Lat. *ferrum*, 'iron'). "*Fret-work*" was specially used of a kind of gilding for the roofs of halls; it was a pattern formed by small gilt bands or *frets* intersecting each other at right angles. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II., "Beautiful works and orders, like the *frets* in the roof of a house." So Milton uses the word here, and Shakespeare in *Hamlet*, II. 2. 313, "this majestical roof fretted with golden fire." Quite distinct is the other verb, *fret*, 'to adorn,' from A. S. *frætwan*.

frore, II. 595, 'frosty'; from A. S. *froren*, 'frozen,' the p. p. of *fréosan*, 'to freeze.' Spenser has the adj. *frory*, 'frozen,' *Faerie Queene*, III. 8. 35, and *frorne* in *Shepheards Calender*, February.

goblin, II. 688. Derived through the French from late Lat. *gobelinus*, a diminutive of Lat. *cobalus*, 'a mountain-sprite, demon' = Gk. κββαλος, 'a rogue,' or 'a goblin supposed to befriend rogues.'

grunsel, I. 460 = *ground-sill*. Minsheu (1617) has "a Groundsell of a doore; vide Threshold"; *sill* is akin to Germ. *schwelle*, 'threshold.'

gryphon, II. 943; Lat. *gryphus*, from Gk. γρύψ; also in late Latin *griffus*, whence the other form *griffin*. A third form in Elizabethan E. was *gripe*; cf. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 543, "the gripe's sharp claws."

harald, I. 752, II. 518, 'herald'; always spelt *harald*—cf. Ital.

araldo—in the original editions of *Paradise Lost*. It illustrates Milton's liking for Italian forms; see p. 159.

highth, I. 24, II. 95; always written thus by M. The form is common in Hakluyt's *Voyager*, and is said to survive in parts of America. *High-th* is curious in that it retains the *th* of the A. S. word *hēhþu*, represented now by *t*—cf. *heigh-t*. For the ordinary change of *th* (in A. S., þ) to *t*, cf. A. S. *gesih-þ*, later *gesih-t* or *sih-t*, now *sigh-t*.

hubbub, II. 951, 'confused din'; put for *hoop-hoop*, a reduplication of *hoop*, 'a cry of surprise'—cf. O. F. *houper*, 'to shout.' Also written *whoobub*, as in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 629, "come in with a whoobub," i.e. a clamour. Cf. 'whooping (or 'hooping')-cough.'

influence, II. 1034, Late Lat. *influentia*, literally 'a flowing in upon.' It was an astrological term applied to the power over the earth, men's characters, fortunes etc., which was supposed to descend from the celestial bodies. Cf. "planetary influence," *Lear*, I. 2. 136, "skyey influences," *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 9. M. generally uses *influence* with reference to this astrological notion; cf. IV. 669, VII. 374, 375 (from *Job* xxxviii. 31, "the sweet influences of Pleiades").

intend, II. 457, 'attend to, consider'; cf. Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, v. 3, "I pray you intend your game, sir." Cf. Lat. *intendere animum*.

its, I. 254. In Elizabethan English the regular *neuter* possessive pronoun was *his*; cf. *Genesis* i. 12, "herb yielding seed after *his* kind," and iii. 15, "*it* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." About 1600 *its* came into use, but slowly. Bacon has *its* rarely; the Bible of 1611 never; the nine instances in the 1st Folio (1623) of Shakespeare are probably corrupt, since in every extant work published during his lifetime the old idiom *his* is invariable—cf. *Julius Caesar* I. 2. 123, 124, "that same eye...did lose *his* lustre." Milton, as an Elizabethan in his diction, avoids *its*: either (1) by personifying the noun, thus in his prose abstract words like 'virtue,' 'truth,' are always followed by *her*; or (2) by retaining the old *neuter* use of *his*; cf. *Comus* 246—248:

"Sure *something* holy lodges in that breast,

- And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify *his* hidden residence."

The only places in Milton's verse where *its* occurs are I. 254, IV. 813; and *Nativity Ode*, 106. I know but two instances of *its* in his prose—*Areopagitica* and *Church Government*, P. W. II. 94, 471.

justle, II. 1018 = *jostle*; connected with *joust* (often spelt *just*), from

Lat. *juxta*, 'close to.' For the form (then common) cf. *The Tempest*, v. 158, "*justled* from your senses."

landskip, II. 491; here and in the three other places where it occurs—IV. 153, V. 142, *L'Allegro*, 70—spelt *lantskip* in the original editions. It was a term borrowed from Dutch artists (cf. Dutch *landschap*), and its forms in E. have been various—e.g. *landschaft*, *landschape*, *landshape*, *landscip*. For *landskip* (apparently the oldest form in E.) cf. Cotgrave (1611), "Paisage: Landskip, countrey worke"; and *The Spectator*, 94, "a beautiful and spacious landskip." The suffix *skip* (or *-scape*) is closely connected with the noun *shape*, hence *land-skip* (or *-scape*) simply means 'shape of the land.' In most words *-skip* is softened to *-ship* as in *friend-ship*; cf. Germ. *freund-schaft*.

lewd, I. 490, 'lustful.' Middle E. *lewed* = A. S. *læwed*. Its successive meanings were: (1) 'enfeebled,' *læwed* (= *gelæwed*) being the past participle of *læwan*, 'to weaken'; (2) then 'ignorant'; then (3) 'bad, worthless'; then (4) 'lustful,' i.e. bad in a particular way. From (2) arose also the sense 'lay, belonging to the laity,' because the laity compared with the clergy were ignorant.

lust, 'wish, please'; commonly a present (II. 798), but also used as a preterite by M. (II. 656, IV. 803). Shakespeare, who uses the present tense often, once has *listed*; cf. *Richard III.*, III. 5. 84, "his savage heart...*listed* to make his prey." Akin to *lust*, which often meant 'pleasure,' as does Germ. *lust*; cf. *Psalm* xcii. 10, "Mine eye shall also see his lust of mine enemies" (Prayer-Book).

mood, I. 550, or mode, 'key,' 'measure,' a musical term; cf. *S. A.* 662, "a *tune* harsh and of dissonant *mood*." Lat. *modus*; distinct from *mood*, 'disposition' (Germ. *mut*).

oblivious, I. 266, 'causing to forget, producing forgetfulness'; cf. *Macbeth*, v. 3. 43, "some sweet oblivious antidote." So Horace uses *obliviosus* of wine (*Odes*, II. 7. 21); and M. speaks of *obliviosa...Lethes aquæ* in *De Idea Platonica*, 20. The usual sense now is 'forgetful.'

orient, I. 546, II. 399, 'bright, lustrous.' In Elizabethan poetry 'orient' is a constant epithet of gems, especially pearls. Perhaps, used thus, it first meant 'eastern,' gems coming from the Orient or East; then as these were bright it got the notion 'lustrous,' which suits, I believe, every passage where M. uses it, though in one or two places (e.g. in IV. 644) 'rising' = Lat. *oriens* is possible. Commonly he applies it to jewels or liquids; cf. "orient pearl" v. 2, "orient liquor" *Comus* 65.

panim, I. 765; another form of *pagan*, from late Lat. *paganus*,

'heathen.' Strictly O. E. *paynyme* meant 'heathendom,' 'country of the heathen,' and a 'heathen man' was *payen* or *payn*; then *paynyme* got the sense, 'heathen man,' that really belonged to *payen*.

paramount, II. 508, 'lord, chief'; originally a legal term for the lord of an estate under whom land was rented. O. F. *paramont*, 'at the top, above' = Lat. *per + ad Montem*.

pavilion, II. 960, 'palace.' M. refers to *Ps.* xviii. 11, "He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters"—where, however, the sense is less 'palace' than 'tent,' as sometimes in M. Cf. v. 653, and *pavilioned* = 'in tents, encamped,' XI. 215. Through F. *pavillon* from Lat. *papilio*, 'a butterfly,' used by late Latin writers to mean 'a tent' because a tent is spread out like the wings of a butterfly.

ploner, I. 676; O. F. *peonier*, 'footsoldier,' Ital. *pedone* (from Lat. *pes*, 'foot'). For *-er* = *-eer* as a suffix in Elizabethan E. cf. "charioteer" VI. 390; "mutiner" *Coriolanus* II. 254; "engineer" and "pioner" *Hamlet*, III. 4. 206 and I. 5. 163 ("a worthy pioner").

plumb-down, II. 933, 'straight down, in a vertical line'; cf. Sylvester, "direct now falls *Plumb* on their heads." *Plumb* meant (1) a mass of lead (Lat. *plumbum*), attached to a cord and used in determining whether a wall is perpendicular; (2) the vertical or perpendicular position so determined: hence the phrases 'in plumb' = vertical, 'out of plumb' = not vertical. Used adverbially, as here, 'plumb' is short for 'in plumb'; cf. Fr. *à plomb*. In modern E. *b* has softened into *p* = *plump*, 'straight downward.'

portcullis, II. 874, a kind of grating, made of timber or iron, sliding up and down in vertical grooves, and forming part of a gateway. Here the portcullis came down over and protected the lock of the gate: Sin had to raise it before she could get at the keyhole. Lat. *porta colatica*, 'a sliding door': *colatica* from *colare*, 'to flow'—whence F. *coulir*, 'to flow,' *coulisse*, 'a slide, groove.'

prevent, II. 467, 739, 'anticipate, forestall'; cf. *Psalms* cxix. 148, "Mine eyes prevent the night watches," and I *Thessalonians* iv. 15, "we which are alive...shall not prevent them which are asleep," i.e. 'rise before.' Literally 'to come before,' Lat. *præ*, 'before' + *venire*, 'to come.'

prick, II. 536, 'to ride hard,' literally 'to spur a horse on'; cf. Tennyson, *Gareth and Lynette*, "And Gareth crying prick'd against the cry." See Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, v. 10. 31. In *Fiers the Plowman* 'prykiere' = a rider.

puny, II. 367; perhaps in the literal sense 'born later, younger,' mankind having been created after the angels; cf. the *Arcopagitica*, "like a puny with his guardian," i.e. a young man not yet of age (*P. W.* II. 79). But 'weak, inferior' (its usual sense now) would also suit. The term "*Puisne Judge*" shows the etymology (*F. puis né*).

purlieu, II. 833, 'outskirt,' strictly of a forest, as in IV. 404. Sometimes land which had been taken from its owner and made part of a forest was restored to him or his successor. The *process* whereby this was done was called *perambulation* = 'a walking over the land to settle its boundaries'; then the land itself came in legal Latin to be called *perambulation*, rendered in French by *pourallee* (*pour* + *aller*). The form *purlieu*, from *pourallee*, was influenced by a wrong derivation from *F. pur lieu* = *purus locus*, 'a space clear of trees.'

purple, I. 451; like Lat. *purpureus*, Gk. *πορφύρεος*, not limited in poetry to the colour strictly called 'purple,' but used of rich hues like red, rosy, crimson. In Shakespeare *purple* is applied, as here, to blood; cf. *Richard II.* III. 3. 94, "The *purple* testament of *bleeding* war," and 3 *Henry VI.* II. 5. 99, "his *purple* blood."

recorder, I. 551, a kind of flute or flageolet; cf. the title of a musical work published in 1686, "The Delightful Companion, or Choice New Lessons for the *Recorder or Flute*." So called from the old verb *record* = 'to sing'; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso* II. 97, "to hear the lark record her hymns." By "*soft*" M. implies not effeminate strains but the sweet, subdued notes of the instrument; cf. Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues* VII. 3, "the *sad* recorder *sweetly* plains."

reluctance, II. 337, 'struggling against'—the lit. sense of Lat. *reluctari*. So X. 1045, "Reluctance against God and his just yoke," and VI. 58, where *reluctant* is used of flames struggling against, i.e. so as to force their way through, smoke. Now *reluctance* has softened into the sense 'unwillingness, loathness.'

rhyme; spelt (in the First Ed.) *rhime* in I. 16 but *rime* in the *Proface*; so possibly M. used *rhime* (i.e. *rhyme*) = poetry opposed to prose, and *rime* = rhymed metre opposed to blank verse. The spelling *rhyme* is due to confusion with *rhythm*, Gk. *ῥυθμός*; the word should be written *rime* (from A. S. *rim*, 'a number').

satiate, I. 179. A noticeable point in Elizabethan English is the tendency to make the past participles of verbs of Latin origin conform with the Latin forms. This is the case especially with verbs of which the Latin originals belong to the 1st and 3rd conjugations. Thus Shakespeare and Milton have many participles like 'create' (*creatus*),

'consecrate' (*consecratus*), 'incorporate,' 'dedicate,' where the termination *-ate*, in modern English *-ated*, = Lat. *-atus*, the passive participial termination of the 1st conjugation. Cf. *elevate* (II. 558).

So with the Latin 3rd conjugation; Latinised participles such as 'deject' (*dejectus*), 'distract,' 'attent' (*attentus*), 'suspect,' suspense (II. 418), 'addict' (*addictus*), 'pollute' (*pollutus*), with many others, are to be found in Shakespeare or Milton. Further, participles not from the Latin are abbreviated by analogy; e.g. Milton (I. 193) has 'uplift' = 'uplifted,' though *lift* is of Scandinavian origin.

scape, I. 239, II. 442; originally short for *escape*, it became an independent form and should be printed *scape*, not '*scape*'; cf. *estate* and *state*. *Escape* = O. F. *escaper* (modern *échapper*), literally 'to slip out of one's cape' (Lat. *ex + cappa*), and so 'to steal off, escape.'

scathe, I. 613, 'injure'; rare as verb, but cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 5. 86, "This trick may chance to scathe you." For the noun cf. *King John*, II. 75, "To do offence and scath in Christendom."

Seraphim; then supposed to come from a Hebrew root 'to burn'; cf. Blount (1672), "Seraphim, i.e. *fulgentes aut comburentes*; so called, for their burning with divine love and charity." Hence "*fiery Seraphim*," II. 512; "*bright Seraphim*" III. 381, and in *At a Solemn Musick*, 10, "*bright Seraphim*, in *burning row*." Really *Seraphim* is from a root 'to exalt,' and means 'the exalted ones.' In the history of its plural *Seraph* (I. 324) resembles *Cherub*: *Seraphins* in some old writers; *Seraphims* in *Isaiah* vi. 2, 6; *Seraphim* in M.

Soldan, I. 764, 'Sultan'; cf. Minsheu (1617), "the great Soldane, or *Sultan* among the Turks or Persians." From Arabic *Sultán*, 'victorious,' Latinised as *Soldanus*, whence Ital. *soldano*.

sovrán, I. 246, II. 244; spelt thus always in *P. L.*; cf. Ital. *souvrano*. The common form *sovereign* = O. F. *soverain*, later *souverain*. Lat. *superanus*, 'chief,' formed from *super*, 'above.'

sublimed, I. 235. In chemistry to 'sublime' or 'sublimate' is "to raise a solid substance into vapour by heat." M. means that the material substance catching fire is raised to a state of pure flame.

success, II. 9. 123; its usual sense in Elizabethan E. is 'result, fortune'—how a person fares in a matter, or a thing turns out, whether well or ill. Cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, II. 2. 117, "Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause," i.e. ill-fortune. So *P. R.* IV. 1.

Syrtis, II. 939, Gk. *Σύρτις*, the name of certain quicksands and sandbanks off the Coast of N. Africa; the word came to mean any quicksand or sandbank—as here.

take, II. 554; a common Elizabethan sense was 'to enchant, captivate,' especially by supernatural influence; cf. *Hamlet*, I. i. 163, "then...No fairy takes" (viz. at Christmas). Hence the general meaning 'charm,' as here; cf. Bacon, *Of Masques*, "things...such as do naturally take the sense." So in Tennyson's *Dying Swan*, 111.

umpire, II. 907; the arbitrator who decides a dispute; hence, a judge. Put for *numpire* = Middle E. *noumpere* = O. F. *non per* = Lat. *non par*, 'not equal, odd': there being two disputants, the umpire was a third man, presumed to be *impartial* (Lat. *impar* 'unequal').

uncouth, II. 407, 827; A. S. *uncuð*, 'unknown'—from *un*, 'not,' + *cūð*, the p.p. of *cunnan*, 'to know.' In M. it almost always means 'strange, unfamiliar,' with the implied notion 'unpleasant'; cf. v. 98, VI. 362.

unenvied, II. 23. Elizabethan writers constantly treat the termination *-ed*, which belongs to the passive participle, as equal to the adjectival ending *-able*; especially with words which have the negative prefix *un-*, and the sense 'that may not be.' Cf. *untamed*, 'that may not be tamed = untamable' (II. 337), *unnumbered*, 'that may not be numbered = innumerable,' II. 903. So "unvalued" = 'invaluable,' "unavoided" = 'inevitable,' *Richard III.* I. 4. 27, IV. 4. 217. The use of the participial and adjectival endings was less regular then than now.

utter, I. 72; the comparative of A. S. *ūt*, 'out,' and an older form of *outer*. Lawyers still speak of "the *utter* bar" in contrast with "the *inner* bar." In *Ezekiel* x. 5 the Bible used to read "*utter* court."

vans, II. 927, 'wings'; Ital. *vanni*, from Lat. *vannus*, 'a winnowing-fan.' Cf. *P. R.* IV. 583, "plumy vans" (said of angels' wings), and Tennyson's *Love and Death*, "Love wept and spread his sheeny vans for flight." For *van* = *fan* cf. *vat* = *fat* as in 'wine-fat.'

waft, II. 1042; often used (as here) by Elizabethan writers with the sense 'to journey, or carry, over water.' Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* IV. I. 114, "I charge thee waft me safely cross the Channel"; and *P. R.* I. 104.

warp, I. 341; a nautical term (Scandinavian) applied to a process in seamanship too complicated to be explained here. M. uses it to describe 'undulatory forward motion.'

welkin, II. 538, 'sky'; properly a plural word = 'clouds'; cf. cognate Germ. *wolke*, 'a cloud.' The termination *-in* (for *-en*) is the plural ending which we get in *brethren*, *children*, *oxen*.

wont, I. 764, were wont; preterite tense, 3rd person plural. The verb *won*, 'to be accustomed to,' now used only in p.p. *wonted* or *wont*, from A. S. *wunian*, was then conjugated; cf. *Nativity Ode*, 10.

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